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(1815-1821)

By NORWOOD YOUNG

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Napoleon at Elba.

Porto Ferrajo in the background.

From a contemporary engraving in the collection of Mr. Alfred Brewis.

31 JAN 17

NAPOLEON IN EXILE: ELBA

FROM THE ENTRY OF THE ALLIES INTO PARIS ON THE 31ST MARCH 1814 TO THE RETURN OF NAPOLEON FROM ELBA AND HIS LANDING AT GOLFE JOUAN ON THE 1ST MARCH 1815

BY NORWOOD YOUNG

AUTHOR OF "THE GROWTH OF NAPOLEON"; "THE STORY OF ROME"; ETC.

WITH A CHAPTER ON THE ICONOGRAPHY

BY A. M. BROADLEY

:: :: AUTHOR OF "NAPOLEON IN CARICATURE," ETC. :: ::

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PREFACE

THE Elban episode in Napoleon's career has not received the attention it deserves. It reveals to us the man unencumbered by the weight of the Empire, and not yet given up to the pose for posterity; and it helps us to understand the course of events at St. Helena.

Elba explains St. Helena. For that reason the two subjects are included in one work, under the title of "Napoleon in Exile." The first volume, dealing with Elba, is published on the 31st March, 1914, exactly one hundred years after the entry of the Allies into Paris. Two volumes dealing with St. Helena it is hoped to publish on the 1st March, 1915, the centenary of the landing of Napoleon on the coast of France on his return from Elba.

It has been my privilege to be given free use of the unpublished Elba material, including a large number of letters signed or initialed by Napoleon, collected by the late Earl of Crawford. I have also to thank Professor Vigo, Curator of the archives of the city of Leghorn, Mr. Montgomery Carmichael, British Consul at Leghorn, Mr. J. C. Airey, British Vice-Consul at Portoferraio, and Signor Pilade del Buono, formerly proprietor of the San Martino estate, for valuable assistance given me in various ways during my visits to Leghorn and Elba.

To Mr. A. M. Broadley I am under a special debt of obligation for the free access accorded me to his valuable Napoleonic Library and collection of MSS., as well as for the illustrations which he has furnished from his extensive collection of prints and caricatures. Mr. Broadley has also contributed a chapter dealing specially with the iconography of Elba and other sidelights connected with the subject.

I have to thank Major-General Turletti, Commander at Leghorn, for his great courtesy in having a copy made for me of the plan of the Mulini Palace, kept in the archives of the Engineers at Leghorn. Signor Alberto Reiter, of Portoferraio, made the long expedition to the Madone, in order to obtain for me the photographs here reproduced, for which I thank him most heartily. Professor Karl Schmidt, of Odense, Denmark, has most kindly allowed me to reproduce from the copy in his possession, the print of the landing of Napoleon at Elba, from the drawing by Lieutenant Sidney Smith, of the *Undaunted*. I have also to thank Dr. J. F. Silk for giving me permission to copy the drawing of San Martino.

NORWOOD YOUNG.

31*st March*, 1914.

DUNDEE CENTRAL

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NAPOLEON IN EXILE: ELBA

CHAPTER I

THE ALLIES ENTER PARIS

ON the 31st March, 1814—just a hundred years ago—the troops of the Allies, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, marched in triumph into Paris, the chief city of the Continent, and the capital of the man who till then had been the greatest Monarch in the civilised world.

The great procession was headed by a band of trumpeters on horseback, who passed through the barrière de Pantin at 11 a.m., followed by the red Cossacks of the Czar's Guard, fifteen abreast. After them came the cuirassiers and hussars of the Prussian Royal Guard, and the dragoons and hussars of the Russian Imperial Guard. Then appeared the Czar Alexander himself, with the King of Prussia on his left, and Prince Schwartzenberg, representing Austria, on his right. The Emperor Francis had preferred not to take personal part in the celebration of the downfall of his son-in-law. Then came a varied, brilliant, and numerous Staff, of perhaps a thousand mounted officers, representing nearly every nation in Europe. Then the infantry, Austrian, Prussian, and Russian grenadiers and guards, thirty abreast. Forty-

seven squadrons of Russian cuirassiers brought up the rear. So they passed through the faubourg Saint-Martin and the Boulevard des Italiens to the Champs Élysées, where a large camp was formed.

The Czar was riding a beautiful dappled grey, given him by Caulaincourt when Ambassador at St. Petersburg on behalf of Napoleon, at that time in the height of his power. His choice of that horse meant that, as man to man, he was still a personal friend to Napoleon; but the spectacular march into Paris was his reply to the Emperor's entry into Moscow.

The Parisians were pleased with the Czar's handsome and gracious presence, and they received him cordially. They had supposed that all foreign soldiers were ferocious barbarians, and had expected rapine and murder, until the Czar's declaration that he took Paris under his protection became known.

The greater part of the armies of Blücher and Schwartzenberg remained outside Paris, taking up positions towards Fontainebleau. The troops which entered the city were selected corps of fine men, taller than the French were accustomed to behold, in brilliant uniforms. The Parisians were impressed by their stature and magnificence, and astonished at their mild manners. Alexander was showing the world how a conquered city should be treated. He said he hoped that he had no enemy in Paris, and only one in France. The Bank of France, the museums and public monuments, were placed under the protection of Guards; no soldiers were quartered upon French citizens; there was no disarming of the National Guard, or of the gendarmes. Civilisation, so roughly battered by Napoleon, whose treatment of a conquered city was habitually barbarous, reappeared in the example of the Czar.

Where, in the meantime, was the Emperor of the French, and what had become of the Empress Marie Louise, whom he had left as Regent in Paris?

Before leaving for the army to make his last desperate effort to drive back the approaching forces of Europe, on the 23rd January, 1814, Napoleon held a great reception of officers of the National Guard at the Tuileries. He presented to them the Empress Marie Louise and the infant King of Rome, not yet three years of age. With that dignity and dramatic instinct which he could always command on such occasions, Napoleon took Marie Louise by one hand and his son by the other, and advanced towards the assembled officers. "Gentlemen," he said, "I am about to place myself at the head of my army, and I hope to push back the enemy across the frontier. But if the enemy should approach the Capital, I confide to the courage of the National Guard the Empress and the King of Rome—my wife and my son." Although among the officers present there were a number who were not well disposed to the Imperial Government, all were touched, many shed tears, and cries of "*Vive l'Empereur*" resounded on every side. Two days later, on the 25th January, 1814, at an early hour, Napoleon left Paris for the army. He never again saw either his wife or his son.

In the campaign of 1814 Napoleon showed all his old daring and energy. He had two enemies, Blücher and Schwartzenberg, and he rushed from one to the other, beating each back in turn. It was a brilliant exhibition of swiftness and audacity, but it was foredoomed to failure, for each army was stronger than his own, and though pushed back a little from time to time, the Allies were making steady progress towards a junction outside Paris. In the hope of stopping their approach, Napoleon at last marched off towards the Rhine, and thus cut their communications, but the Allies merely continued to approach upon Paris.

When he heard of this continued advance Napoleon hurried back with all possible speed, at first with an escort of cavalry, but as he approached Paris and the news he received was ever more and more alarming, he flung himself into a post-chaise, and went on at a gallop, with Caulaincourt at his side,

followed by a second carriage in which were Generals Drouot and Flahaut, and a third containing Marshal Lefebvre and the orderly officer Colonel Gourgaud.

It was the 30th March, the day upon which the Allies attacked Paris. By 11 p.m. Napoleon had reached the post-station of Fromenteau, about twelve miles from Paris. Devoured with feverish anxiety, he was marching forward on foot while the horses were being changed, when a troop of cavalry was encountered. Their chief, Belliard, dismounted, and was dragged on by the Emperor, who was still walking furiously in the direction of Paris. He assailed Belliard with question after question, giving him no time to reply: "Where is the army? Where is the Empress, the King of Rome, Joseph? Who commands at Paris?" On hearing that Paris had capitulated that evening and would be entered by the Allies on the following morning, the Emperor burst into a torrent of invectives against all concerned. But he did not cease to march all the while on to Paris. "Wherever I am not, nothing but folly is committed. Caulaincourt, make the carriage come on, we must go to Paris at once." He had by this time walked nearly two miles, and had reached a point whence he could see the bivouacs of the enemy. There was obvious danger of capture. It would have been madness to proceed further. He had to stop. Before returning, he sent Flahaut to gallop on and retract the capitulation if it was not yet actually signed; and he sent Caulaincourt to the Czar with full power to conclude a peace upon any terms. Then he went back to the post-inn and sat over his maps. "I have them," he exclaimed after a while; "God delivers them into my hands. But I must have four days!" Then, overcome with fatigue, he fell into so heavy a sleep that his attendants had great difficulty in arousing him to receive the message that arrived at dawn, from Caulaincourt. It announced that the capitulation had been signed, and the Allies were preparing to enter Paris. Soon afterwards came Flahaut with a letter

from Marmont saying that since the departure of the Empress, the Parisians had been indisposed to make any great effort against the invaders. Napoleon retired, in sullen despair, to Fontainebleau.

He had left Marie Louise in Paris as Regent, with a Council, of whom the most important members were his brother Joseph, Lieut.-General of the Emperor, with Cambacérès, Clarke, Montalivet, Savary, and Talleyrand. On the 28th March it was known that the Allies would be before Paris in two days. No news had been received from Napoleon for five days, from which it was concluded that the enemy stood between him and Paris. What was to be done with the Empress and the King of Rome ?

At 8.30 p.m. the Council of the Regency assembled, under the presidency of the Empress herself, to decide whether she should remain in Paris. With the exception of Joseph, who did not vote, and Clarke, who was in Joseph's confidence, the Council was unanimous in the opinion that the Empress should remain, for they all saw that if she went the Parisians would consider they had been deserted in the face of the enemy, and would, in their turn, abandon the Imperial cause.

Joseph, however, now produced and read out a letter that Napoleon had written him on the 16th March[1] :—

"RHEIMS, 16*th March*, 1814.

"My brother, in conformity with the verbal instructions that I have given you and with the spirit of all my letters, you must not allow that, in any event, the Empress and the King of Rome fall into the hands of the enemy. I am about to make a manœuvre which may possibly leave you for some days without news of me. If the enemy should advance upon Paris in such force that all resistance should become impossible, send off in the direction of the Loire, the Regent, my son, the grand dignitaries, the ministers, the officials of the Senate, the presidents of the Council of State, the grand

[1] Correspondance, No. 21497.

officers of the Crown, the Baron de la Bouillerie, and the treasure. Do not leave my son, and remember that I would prefer to know he was in the Seine rather than in the hands of the enemies of France. The fate of Astyanax, prisoner of the Greeks, has always seemed to me the most unhappy in all history.

"NAPOLEON."

In a previous letter, of the 8th February, which Joseph did not think it necessary to show to the Council, Napoleon had said: "If Talleyrand counts for anything in this proposal to leave the Empress in Paris in the event of our force evacuating it, that is a treason which is being plotted. . . . If you hear of a lost battle and have news of my death, you will have the information before my ministers. Send off the Empress and the King of Rome to Rambouillet; give orders to the Senate, to the Council of State, and to all the troops to unite upon the Loire; leave at Paris either the Prefect or an Imperial Commissary, or a Mayor. I should prefer that they should kill my son, rather than see him brought up at Vienna as an Austrian Prince, and I have a good enough opinion of the Empress to be persuaded that she is also of the same opinion, so far as a woman and a mother can be. I have never seen Andromache represented without pitying the fate of Astyanax surviving his house, and that I have not considered it a happiness for him not to have survived his father."[1]

The letter of the 16th March, with its explicit command and its reference to previous instructions in the same sense, seemed to the Council to leave them no alternative. Against their own inclinations and fearful of the effect upon opinion in Paris, they felt compelled to decide that the Empress and her son should leave Paris on the following morning, for Tours.

When the Council broke up at 2 a.m., the members,

[1] Correspondance, No. 21210.

walking out together through the corridors of the Tuileries Palace, expressed to each other their dismay at what they had been obliged to do; and on parting they bade adieu one to another, in the tone of men saying farewell to the Government they represented. Talleyrand, going out with Savary, said to him: "Well, that is the end of it all; is not that also your opinion? Upon my word, here is a fine game lost. And what a fall in the view of history! To give one's name to adventures instead of giving it to an epoch! When I think of that, I cannot prevent myself from giving a groan. What would the Emperor have said of any other man who had allowed himself to be placed in his position?"

The departure from Paris of Napoleon's wife and son was fatal to the dynasty. It was undertaken at the supposed command of Napoleon; and yet it was not, in the actual circumstances, what he had meant or desired. The terms he used in the letter read to the Council were, "if the enemy should advance upon Paris in such force that all resistance should become impossible." Now, resistance was still possible; and while it continued there was always the chance that Napoleon might be able to come to the rescue. On the other hand, without Marie Louise and the King of Rome, no spirited defence on behalf of the dynasty would be made. The letter of the 8th February says that the Empress is to leave Paris "in the event of our forces evacuating it," or if news came of a battle lost and the Emperor's death. That state of affairs had not been reached. And if the Empress left Paris Napoleon's explicit commands were that the Council, the Senate, the chief officers of the Government, were to leave also. Paris was to contain no higher official than a Commissary, Prefect, or Mayor. This was not done, the result being that when the Allies entered Paris they obtained control of the Government. Joseph did give the order, about midday of the 30th March, but it was then too late; and as he himself left Paris immediately, without seeing his order carried out, the Capital and the Government,

abandoned by the Imperial Family, gave themselves up without reserve to the invaders.

This would not have happened if, instead of indulging in melodramatic allusions to classical examples—for it was the reference to Astyanax that remained in men's minds—Napoleon had said merely that the Empress was not to desert Paris till the last moment, and then was to take the whole Government with her.

Joseph had for some time past recognised that the Imperial cause was lost beyond recovery, owing to the proud and obstinate character of his brother. He had already written to Napoleon several letters urging the absolute necessity of his coming to terms with the enemy. "Good or bad," he wrote, "peace is necessary; in the actual state of affairs it would inevitably be a blessing." . . . "Peace," he wrote once more, "would not be dishonouring to France, as she would not have lost any of her ancient territory. As for you, Sire, you would become the father of the people if, abandoning the theatrical, you were to consent at last to supplant the extraordinary man by the great King." This recalls the observation of Talleyrand that it was time the Emperor of the French became the King of France. Napoleon's reply to his brother had been to order a meeting of the Council of Regency to consider the terms of peace proposed by the Allies. The Council met and decided, without hesitation and by a unanimous vote, in favour of accepting the proposals.

While transmitting this decision to Napoleon, on the 4th March, Joseph had written:—

"The Council was united in thinking that the necessity of seeing France reduced to the territory she had in 1792 should be accepted, rather than have the Capital exposed. The occupation of the Capital is regarded as the end of the present order of things and the beginning of great misfortunes. An early peace on any terms is indispensable. . . . You will remain to France, and France will remain to you the same as she was when she astonished Europe. And you

who saved her once, will save her a second time by signing a peace to-day, and saving yourself with her. . . . Whether your Majesty has obtained a victory to-day or not, it is equally necessary to think of peace, that is the sum of what everybody is thinking and saying here."

Napoleon's reply to this was just what Joseph had expected and feared. It was the mendacious bulletin exaggerating his success at the battle of Craonne.

Joseph had described his brother at the age of seventeen as "an inhabitant of an ideal world," and can have had no illusions as to the ruin that was impending, or its cause; especially when Napoleon wrote that if an address in favour of peace were sent to him, as had been proposed, he would treat it as a rebellion, and cause to be arrested Joseph and the ministers, and the other chief signatories.

At that time there existed a very general feeling throughout France, and to some extent also in the ranks of the Allies, that Napoleon was unconquerable, that his genius was equal to any task, however seemingly impossible. This idea had taken possession of Napoleon himself, who added to it a superstitious belief in fate, and particularly in his own star. During these last days, when it had at last become plain even to the most credulous that the end was near, Napoleon still assumed, as a fact beyond discussion, that it was ordained by fate that he should emerge triumphant. He never faced the situation; it never occurred to him that his career could really be ended; he supposed that no combination of powers could possibly produce such a result, the mere thought of which was an impiety. The general vulgar belief that he was a god, an instrument of destiny, had entered into his own brain.

CHAPTER II

THE ABDICATIONS

HAVING held a grand review of the Allied troops in the Champs Élysées, Alexander retired to the house of Talleyrand, where a consultation was held, at which the chief personages present were the Czar, the King of Prussia, Prince Schwartzenberg, and Talleyrand.

The Czar began by observing that there were three alternatives: to make peace with Napoleon; to establish the Empress Marie Louise as Regent; to recall the Bourbons. Talleyrand then spoke, and had little difficulty in convincing the Allies that peace with Napoleon would be only temporary, for Alexander himself had frequently asserted that opinion; that the Regency of the Empress would merely mean that Napoleon would continue to reign under her name; and therefore that the only reasonable policy was the restoration of Louis XVIII. The Czar remarked that there was no enthusiasm for the Bourbons, and that the French army had shown itself loyal to its chief, the Emperor. Talleyrand replied that if the Senate deposed Napoleon, the soldiers, who had been fighting for their country more than their leader, would follow the desire of the nation. Alexander agreed, and, to encourage the Senate, a proclamation was issued and signed by him, in the following terms:—

"The Allied Sovereigns support the wishes of France; they will not treat any more with Napoleon nor with any member of his Family; the conditions of peace will be im-

proved by that guarantee ; for the happiness of Europe France must remain great and strong ; they will respect her integrity as it existed under her legitimate Kings ; they will recognise, they will guarantee the Constitution that France may give herself ; in consequence, they invite the Senate to designate a Provisional Government to provide for the administration and to prepare the Constitution which will best suit France."

Next day, the 1st of April, the Senate nominated the members of the Provisional Government, of whom Talleyrand was the chief ; and the General Council and Municipal Council of Paris agreed to the issue of a proclamation which said, " The two Councils declare that they formally renounce all obedience towards Napoleon Bonaparte."

On the 2nd, the Senate passed a unanimous preliminary vote in favour of the deposition of the Emperor and his family. On the same day the Provisional Government issued a proclamation to the army, in which occurred the words : " Soldiers, you are no longer the soldiers of Napoleon, the Senate and the whole of France absolve you from your oaths."

Napoleon was at Fontainebleau, gathering together his resources. The troops from Paris and Versailles, the corps of Marmont and Mortier, drew in towards him, and on the 2nd April the army he had led towards the Rhine had rejoined him. On that day Caulaincourt returned from Paris, where he had obtained two audiences with the Czar. To his appeals Alexander had replied with his customary declaration, " Peace with Napoleon would be no more than a truce," and when Caulaincourt spoke of a Regency the Czar said, " But what would be done with the Emperor ? The father is an invincible obstacle to the recognition of his son." Alexander said that if Napoleon would abdicate suitable provision would be made for him ; he would be welcomed in Russia, or he would be given an island—Corsica or Elba. Caulaincourt continuing to argue for a Regency, Alexander concluded the interview, urging the immediate abdication

of the Emperor as the only possible basis for all further negotiations.

It was the existence of Napoleon that stood in the way of his dynasty. Nesselrode, Alexander's minister, pointedly remarked that in Russia the obstacle would soon be got rid of.

Caulaincourt had an interview with Schwartzenberg, from whom he learned that Austria also was definitely opposed to the idea of a Regency. This should have been enough, but Caulaincourt, who can have been under no illusions, went to Napoleon with the report that his abdication and departure from France would bring about a Regency.

Next morning, the 3rd of April, Napoleon held a review of two divisions of the Guard in the Cour du Cheval Blanc of the Palace of Fontainebleau. The declaration of the Allies that they would not treat with Napoleon, would not affect the troops, but the deposition of the Emperor by Paris, the Senate, and the Government, was a serious matter.

Napoleon went amongst the men, spoke to many of them, and distributed decorations; he was testing their fidelity. Then, in the centre of the Court, he summoned the officers about him, and delivered the following harangue: "Officers, under-officers, and soldiers of my Old Guard! The enemy has stolen three marches upon us. He has entered Paris. I have offered the Emperor Alexander a peace bought by great sacrifices, France with her ancient boundaries, renouncing conquests, losing all that we have gained since the Revolution. Not only has he refused, he has done more: at the perfidious suggestion of those *émigrés* to whom I have accorded their lives, and whom I have loaded with benefits, he authorises them to wear the white cockade, and soon he will be wanting to substitute it in preference to the national cockade. In a few days I am going to attack Paris; I count upon you." He had been received in silence so far, and, anxious to put the matter to the test, he said, "Am I right?" Instantly there was a roar of shouts, "*Vive l'Empereur! A Paris! A*

Paris!" Reassured, Napoleon went on: "We will show them that the French nation is mistress of herself, that as we have been the mistress for so long in other countries, we shall always be so in our own, and, in short, that we are capable of defending our colours, our independence, and the integrity of our territory." The conclusion was received with a renewed burst of cheering. Napoleon could rely upon his Guard.

But although the Guard, and many of the officers and soldiers of other regiments, might retain an unquenchable fidelity to their great Captain, the Marshals and leading Generals saw plainly that the cause of Napoleon was lost. It was known that Marmont's allegiance had been shaken, and French emissaries were sent to induce him to betray his master and benefactor. They represented to him that it would be a patriotic act to put an end to the conflict, which would henceforth be merely a civil war, since the Senate and the Government of France had deposed Napoleon. Marmont was convinced. He wrote in the night of the 3rd April to Schwartzenberg that the decree of the Senate had destroyed the oath of fidelity to the Emperor, and that to prevent civil war he was prepared "to quit with my troops the army of Napoleon," upon certain conditions, which he formulated, with regard to the personal safety of the Emperor. When Napoleon heard of this cruel and, whatever the motive, inexcusable treachery, he was dumbfounded for a moment. Then he said: "The ungrateful man; he will suffer for it more than I."

It was arranged that Marmont's troops should be brought within the lines of the Allies in the evening of the 4th April. Before the Marshal's treason was known at Fontainebleau a more decisive event had occurred there.

At the morning parade in the great court, Napoleon was received with acclamations. Some of the Marshals then thought it time to interfere. When the review was over Marshals Ney, Lefebvre, and Moncey, who were joined

afterwards by Macdonald and Oudinot, followed Napoleon into his room. Ney, as their spokesman, bluntly told him that his abdication was necessary. The Marshals and Generals were tired of war. Napoleon's system of appealing to cupidity as the chief motive of men's acts, broke down when the recipients of honours and comforts had obtained all that they could expect. And there were now too many great dignitaries for the shrunken forces at disposal. Ney, for example, had command of no more than a brigade. Even the most combative man must shrink from the prospect of interminable campaigns, with no intervals for the relaxations of ordinary life. It was now evident that Napoleon would never give in; that he would continue fighting till not a man was left alive; that they were to be the wandering Jews of warfare: for if he were to regain his position the whole career of conquest, with another expedition into Russia, would be begun over again.

Ney therefore told Napoleon, with frankness, that his position was hopeless. He even adverted to the plots for his assassination which were afloat. Nesselrode's sneer had spurred on Talleyrand, and others, to provide the final guarantee that Napoleon would cease to disturb Europe. The Emperor's life was threatened.

In reply, he spoke of the forces he still had in hand, and explained his plans for defeating the Allies, but his remarks were received, even by his most loyal friends, Berthier, Maret, Caulaincourt, Bertrand, in chilling silence. With any other man something might have been done, but all knew their Emperor, whose pugnacious obstinacy passed the bounds of reason. He was like a headstrong child, without self-control, and it was their task to bring him into the path of sober sense. At length Napoleon dismissed them all except Caulaincourt, and then, relying upon what that courtier told him of the Czar's demeanour and intentions, he wrote out a conditional abdication in favour of his son :—

"The allied Powers having proclaimed that the Emperor

Napoleon was the only obstacle to the re-establishment of peace in Europe, the Emperor Napoleon, faithful to his oath, declares that he is ready to descend from the throne, to leave France, and even give up his life, for the welfare of the country, inseparable from the rights of his son, of the Regency of the Empress, and of the laws of the Empire."

This declaration he gave to Caulaincourt with instructions to take it to the Czar, accompanied by Ney and Macdonald. They were to acquaint Marmont, whom they would encounter on their way, with their errand, and were to invite him to join them. When they reached Marmont and showed him the signed abdication, that Marshal was much perturbed, for it seemed that Napoleon's act had made his intended treachery aimless. He went with them to Paris and in a personal interview with Schwartzenberg withdrew his promise to bring over his troops to the Allies. But in his absence General Souham, whom he had left in command, took the troops into the lines of the Allies, in the night of the 4th April.

Napoleon's emissaries were received by the Czar on the same evening. Their arguments, with the abdication in their hands, were directed to the establishment of a Regency, and the withdrawal of Napoleon from France. The Czar temporised. He was waiting for news of the movement of Marmont's corps. He received the delegates in a sympathetic manner, and allowed it to appear that he was impressed by their pleading. They should return in the morning, when he would have had the opportunity of consulting his Allies. He already knew that they would not accept a Regency. In the night the desired information arrived of the loss to Napoleon of Marmont's force. Consequently, when Caulaincourt, Ney, and Macdonald, at 9 a.m. on the 5th April, were received again by the Czar, who had now the King of Prussia at his side, Alexander was in a position to observe that even the soldiers were abandoning Napoleon, and therefore that a Napoleonic Regency could not be accepted. The unconditional abdication of Napoleon was demanded. He would be

given the sovereignty of the Island of Elba, and would retain the title of Emperor.

It was not the defection of Marmont which put an end to the Regency project. The Czar could not ignore the opposition of his Allies and of the French Government; nor would it have been easy to repudiate the engagements he had himself already made. The Regency had from the first been considered and rejected. Marmont's treason weakened the military position of Napoleon, and it had a depressing moral effect upon his army. The Czar knew it was about to take place when Napoleon's emissaries were appealing for a Regency, and he waited until it was accomplished in order to justify and strengthen his refusal. Marmont's treason merely gave the Czar an additional argument.

When the plenipotentiaries returned to Fontainebleau with their message in the evening of the 5th April, Napoleon, as before, replied to them by speaking of his military prospects, of the order he had given for the movement towards the Loire; and the Marshals reiterated that the position was hopeless and insisted upon the unconditional abdication. Napoleon dismissed them. The Marshals then took a further step; they countermanded Napoleon's orders for the march towards the Loire, with the result that no such movement was begun.

On the 6th Napoleon received Marshals Ney, Oudinot, Macdonald, and Lefebvre, and again showed how he could continue the conflict against the Allies. Their reply was that if he succeeded in reaching the Loire it would only mean a civil war. Thereupon Napoleon, with the remark, "You wish for repose! Well, have it then!" wrote out the final act of abdication:—

"The Allied Powers having proclaimed that the Emperor Napoleon was the only obstacle to the re-establishment of peace in Europe, the Emperor Napoleon, faithful to his oath, declares that he renounces for himself and his heirs the thrones of France and Italy, because there is no

THE EMPRESS MARIE LOUISE AND THE KING OF ROME

From a contemporary engraving

personal sacrifice, even were it of life itself, which he is not ready to make to the interest of France."

Ney went off in triumph with this document to Paris, accompanied by Caulaincourt. The Senate on the same day proclaimed the accession of Louis XVIII. When these facts became known there was a general rush of office-seekers from Fontainebleau to Paris. Napoleon was left with his Guard and a few other staunch adherents.

The first abdication had been conditional upon the establishment of a Regency, but that reservation was not plainly stated and was not generally understood. Men thought they were absolved from their allegiance, a sentiment which played havoc with the loyalty of the army. To the soldiers an abdication was an abdication. Napoleon's prestige, his most precious possession, had been gradually falling ever since the Russian campaign, and he was openly blamed, here and there, among officers and men, for having failed to protect the capital. The Guard remained staunch, and there were still many ardent worshippers in every corps, but there were also, now, a good many grumblers. These disloyal feelings were strengthened by the abdication. The effect is made plain by the following entry in the diary of an English *détenu :* " 5th April. The Emperor Napoleon appeared on the Parade ; but finding a marked difference on the part not only of the officers but even the troops, he retired in about ten minutes to the palace, and appeared no more before the army as their master." The difference between the enthusiastic devotion of the troops, expecting to be led to Paris, on the morning of the 4th April, and their coldness on the 5th, was the direct result of the intervening act of abdication.

The second, unconditional, abdication was forced ; it followed almost of necessity from the first, which had destroyed the loyalty of the army. Napoleon regretted the second abdication as soon as it was made, and endeavoured to have it withdrawn. He did not realise that it was the first abdication that had ruined him.

His abdication enabled him to take the grand line of self-sacrifice for the sake of France. He was, in fact, too proud to let it seem that he was willing to ask France to fight for his personal advantage. He wished it to be supposed that he cared nothing for a crown. If he asked for the title of Emperor, it was merely an honourable recognition of past services. He was also in a position to declare, this time with truth, that he had adhered to his determination never to make a humiliating peace. He remarked to Bausset, "J'abdique, et ne cède rien." That was a consistent and manly attitude, which stood him in good stead when he presented himself again in 1815.

At this time Marie Louise was at Blois. She had left Paris on the 29th March, in accordance with the fatal decision of the Council of the Regency. The little King of Rome, as if conscious of the terrible consequences of the move, declined to go into the carriage waiting for him. He fought and struggled, holding on to banisters and door-handles, and had to be forcibly carried into the vehicle, kicking and shouting, "I do not want to go. Since papa is not here, I am the master. Do not go to Rambouillet. It is a miserable castle."

Packing had been going on through the night. The silver was sent off in wagons early in the morning under escort, with the private treasure of Napoleon, and the Crown treasure, the diamonds belonging to Marie Louise, and the Crown diamonds. With the Empress went the whole of her very extensive wardrobe, and also the robes, uniforms, and linen of Napoleon. The procession was headed by ten *berlines de ville*, painted green and with the Imperial arms upon the panels. The Empress took with her the chief persons of her suite, of whom the most important was the Duchesse de Montebello, her lady-in-waiting. After the berlines came the Coronation coach, covered with cloth and filled with a quantity of articles thrown in at the last moment; and then followed a large number of wagons, with the

personal effects. The escort was 1200 cavalry. Although the day was well advanced when the procession started, very few persons had assembled, and they made no sign either of relief or regret. A few idle spectators watched in silence the departure of the Empire.

Rambouillet was reached in the afternoon, and the next day, the 30th March, they were at Chartres, where they were joined at night by Joseph and Jerome with their Queens and some of the ministers.

At Vendôme, on the 1st April, the Empress received a letter from Napoleon, which he had sent off from the Cour-de-France early in the morning of the 31st, with orders to proceed to Blois, nearer to Fontainebleau than Tours, which had at first been their destination. On the 2nd April the Empress accordingly reached Blois, where she was received in the same chilling silence that she had experienced on leaving Paris, and also at every stage of the journey.

At Blois were now collected, besides the Empress and King of Rome and their suites, Joseph, Louis, Jerome, Madame Mère, the Arch-Chancellor Cambacérès, and some of the Ministers and Councillors of State, who had been at Tours. The town was full of wagons and carriages, with the Treasure, diamonds, silver, and other valuables; and the various escorts came to some 1800 cavalry.

On the 7th April Colonel Galbois arrived from Fontainebleau with a letter from Napoleon, written after his final abdication. It was in terms of the most profound abasement; his hour had come, he would not drag down Marie Louise with him; she should find her protector in her father; and he referred to the possibility of his death, for if attempts were made upon his life he would do away with himself.[1] Galbois says that Marie Louise, touched by the terms of this communication, insisted that she desired at once to go to Fontainebleau to console her husband in his agony; and that he

[1] Fournier, A., "Marie Louise et la chute de Napoleon," Revue Historique, Vol. 82, 1903, p. 14.

dissuaded her by declaring that the road was not safe, whereupon she abandoned the idea and gave him a most affectionate letter for Napoleon, which he duly delivered.

Marie Louise had been five days at Blois, receiving a letter from Napoleon every day. In none of them had he expressed any desire for her society. Now he told her to rely upon her father, and not upon him, and the messenger who had last been with her husband put difficulties in the way of her joining him. She had an escort and there was no serious impediment to her making the journey in safety. But it was at least doubtful whether the Emperor would be pleased to see her. Not unnaturally she wished to be assured that Napoleon desired her presence. If he had wanted her and had said so, she could and would have joined him.

One of the greatest of Napoleon's many mistakes was his attitude towards his wife in these critical days. "I understand women," he was saying to Caulaincourt, "and especially my wife; to offer her a prison instead of the Court of France such as I made it, would be a very great trial. If she came to me with a sad and bored face, it would make me miserable. I prefer solitude to the spectacle of grief and boredom. If she were inspired to come to me, I should receive her with open arms. If not, let her remain at Parma or Florence, wherever she may be reigning. I should only ask for my son. Cæsar may return to the condition of a citizen, but it is not easy for his wife to give up her position as the consort of Cæsar."

He did not perceive that at Elba the presence of his wife, an Emperor's daughter, and of his son, an Emperor's grandson, would have helped him to retain his Imperial standing before the world. A pride akin to madness, a morbid touchiness, consummated his ruin. He would not present himself as a fallen man. He could not bear the thought that at Elba his wife might regret Paris and Vienna.

On the 8th April, Good Friday, Joseph and Jerome endeavoured to persuade the Empress to go with them

beyond the Loire. They said that at Blois she would become a hostage in the hands of the enemy, and that the welfare of the State and of her family required her removal to a place of safety. She declined, saying she was not afraid of either the Germans or the Russians. When they insisted, Jerome in particular speaking with some warmth, Marie Louise burst into tears, and summoned her household, who rushed in tumultuously, under the impression that physical compulsion had been threatened.

It was a tactless move on the part of Napoleon's brothers. The distracted woman had reflected, since her first compassionate impulse to console her fallen husband, that, as he had abdicated, he was no longer in a position to confer upon her the position which she had a right to expect. If he had been of royal blood it would have been different, but he was in fact merely a lawyer's son whom she had married on conditions which had not been maintained. The Bonaparte brothers by their efforts at domination over her, had succeeded in emphasising the fact that the whole Corsican brood was not of her class. The result was that she wrote at once to her father begging an asylum in Austria. "All I hope," she said, "is to live quietly, no matter where, in your dominions, so that I may bring up my son."

But another change took place a few hours later, upon the arrival at Blois of Count Schouvaloff, sent by the Czar to escort the Empress to Orleans, and thence to Fontainebleau. After his arrival she wrote again to her father, telling him that the Czar's emissary had exposed to her "the situation in which the Emperor finds himself at present. I leave to-morrow for Fontainebleau."

It has been customary to suppose that Schouvaloff's mission was to prevent Marie Louise from going to Fontainebleau, and to obtain control over her movements. Her letter shows that it was precisely the opposite. Bausset, also, says the Empress "was to go to Orleans and thence to Fontainebleau." That version is confirmed and the matter placed

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beyond doubt by the letter of Stadion to Metternich, from Chatillon, of the 16th April.[1] Writing at the command of the Emperor Francis, he says: "The Emperor has just learned, by the reports of Prince Schwartzenberg, that General Count Schouvaloff has been sent to the Archduchess Marie Louise at Blois to conduct her to Fontainebleau. His Majesty would have expected that the Allies would not take any decision with regard to the person of his daughter without letting him know and without having previously concerted matters with him. From the moment that the Archduchess finds herself separated from her husband, it is to her august father alone that she is bound, and it is he also that can and must take her under his protection. The Emperor demands that his daughter, with her child, should be sent to him, so that he may conduct her, in a manner worthy of her birth, to his dominions, and that he may give to her and to her son a suitable establishment until the time when her future shall be definitely determined. The Emperor desires, Prince, that you should immediately take the necessary steps in the direction indicated, and that you should inform him, without the least delay, and in detail, of the measures that you shall have taken to return the Archduchess into his care. His Majesty repairs to-morrow to Troyes, where he intends to await the replies from Paris. It will therefore be in that direction that the voyage of Her Imperial Majesty should be directed."

The Emperor Francis was determined that Marie Louise and her son should live under his control in his dominions. The Czar Alexander, with the consideration for the feelings and happiness of Napoleon which he had shown throughout, had endeavoured to bring the husband and wife together. In accordance with his wish, on the 9th April, before the objection of the Emperor Francis could take effect, Schouvaloff conducted the Empress and her son to Orleans, the first stage towards Fontainebleau.

[1] Quoted by Fournier, op. cit., p. 13, from the archives at Vienna.

Before their departure the Ministers and Councillors of State and other functionaries of the former Imperial Government, jostled each other to get passports. These were issued by the Mayor of Blois, with a minute description of their persons, even in the case of the ex-Kings of Spain, Holland, and Westphalia, of Madame Mère, and the Duc de Rovigo, Minister of Police. To protect these travellers, recently so powerful, the passports were countersigned by Schouvaloff, and such was the pressure of applicants for his signature, in his room at the inn, that he had to restrain the most impatient by saying that he was signing as fast as possible but could not do it all at once. The members of the late Government then proceeded to pay themselves their salaries and allowances, with full travelling expenses, out of the Imperial Treasure which had come from Paris. Then, with passports in one hand and money in the other, the various functionaries rushed off to Paris to try to get posts in the new Government.

Then the Imperial Family started for Orleans: Schouvaloff, the protector; Marie Louise, the King of Rome, and their suites, with their cavalry escort; Cardinal Fesch and Madame Mère—"It is not yet over," said she, "we Corsicans are not inexperienced in revolutions"; the ex-Kings Joseph and Jerome—Louis remaining behind at Blois absorbed in his religious devotions; and finally the long procession of wagons with the remainder of the Treasure and the Imperial valuables of all sorts. Orleans was reached late in the afternoon.

At Orleans, in the night, Meneval received a letter from Napoleon in which he said that it had been arranged with the Emperor of Austria that the Crown should go to the King of Rome with the Empress as Regent, and therefore that the Empress should look to her father for protection, as anything might happen, even his own death. Napoleon must have known that there was no hope from Austria. Metternich on the same day was writing a letter in which he said: "The

Emperor (Francis) will make his entry into Paris with the Count d'Artois; it will be the Emperor of Austria who will instal the Bourbons."[1]

For Marie Louise the essence of Napoleon's letter was that he again told her to depend upon her father. She was now determined not to go to Fontainebleau, but to wait at Orleans for news from her father. She wrote on that day to her father: "The Emperor is going to the Island of Elba; I have explained to him that nothing will induce me to leave this place before I have seen you and learned from you what you advise. They want to take me from here against my will."

Schouvaloff, in accordance with his instructions from the Czar, and supported by Joseph and Jerome, was still endeavouring to persuade Marie Louise to go to Fontainebleau. She definitely declined. She had been prepared to do her duty. It would not have been agreeable to live confined on a small island, with the mere burlesque of a sovereignty, in the society of a fallen man, marriage to whom had been a *mésalliance* for her and who might be capable of telling her that it had been one of the principal causes of his downfall; but, if her son was provided for in accordance with his rank, she would have consented to submit to a miserable fate. When, however, Napoleon told her to look elsewhere for a protector, it would have been strange indeed if she had insisted upon forcing herself upon him.

Neither his mother, nor any of his brothers, Joseph, Louis, Jerome, who were all at Orleans or Blois, a few hours' drive from Fontainebleau, went to see Napoleon. This helps to excuse Marie Louise at this time.

On the 11th April the letter from Stadion, already cited, reached Metternich, who acted in accordance with the instructions it contained. He obtained the sanction of the Czar to a change of policy in the direction desired by the Emperor Francis. Orders were accordingly sent to Schou-

[1] As it turned out the Count d'Artois arrived in Paris on the 12th April, three days before the Emperor Francis.

GEORGE CRUIKSHANK'S CARICATURE OF
"THE ELBARONIAN EMPEROR GOING TO TAKE POSSESSION OF HIS NEW TERRITORY"
Published 23 April, 1814

valoff to take Marie Louise to Rambouillet, to meet her father there. At 5 p.m., on the 12th April, these instructions reached Orleans. At 8 p.m. they were acted upon. Marie Louise and her son left Orleans with Count Schouvaloff and an escort of the Guard, soon to be relieved by Cossacks, in the direction of Rambouillet, and away from Fontainebleau.

With them went the last flickering hopes of the Napoleonic dynasty.

CHAPTER III

THE TREATY OF FONTAINEBLEAU

THE second abdication, though written in his own hand, was not signed by Napoleon. It was to be delivered to the Allies on the understanding that suitable provision would be made for the fallen monarch. Negotiations were at once entered upon between Caulaincourt, supported by Ney and Macdonald, on behalf of Napoleon, and the Czar's representative, Nesselrode, on behalf of the Allies. It was agreed that Napoleon should be given an island in the Mediterranean and an allowance. Corfu, Corsica, and Elba were suggested, and Elba finally accepted.

Many thought Elba was too near to Italy, and even to France, but Alexander insisted that Napoleon could be trusted. Talleyrand, in a letter of the 7th April, 1814, wrote: "The question of the Island of Elba arouses discussions. The moral condition of Italy does not seem to admit of such an establishment." Sir Charles Stewart wrote to Lord Bathurst objecting strongly to Elba: "It is deeply to be regretted that Lord Castlereagh was not at hand to counterbalance by his moral resolution and strong sagacity the imprudent and somewhat theatrical generosity of the Emperor Alexander." The Czar had desired, as he said himself, "to give an illustrious example to the universe of liberality to a prostrate enemy."[1]

[1] Alison, "Lives of Lord Castlereagh and Sir Charles Stewart," Vol. II, p. 459. Yonge, "Life of Lord Liverpool," p. 504.

The Emperor Francis wrote to Metternich, on the 12th April: "The important thing is to remove Napoleon from France, and God grant that he may be sent very far away. I do not approve of the choice of the Island of Elba as a residence for Napoleon; they take it from Tuscany, they dispose of what belongs to my family, in favour of foreigners. Besides, Napoleon remains too near to France and to Europe. However, if the thing cannot be prevented, we must try to secure that Elba revert to Tuscany after the death of Napoleon, that I be named co-guardian of the child for Parma, and that, in case of the death of my daughter and the child, the estates destined for them be not reserved for the family of Napoleon."

Napoleon remarked to Caulaincourt: "Austria has no bowels." The Emperor Francis was so mean and contemptible as to grudge his son-in-law even the small and unimportant Island of Elba. The Czar had it officially proclaimed in the *Moniteur* that the "Allied Powers neither could nor would forget the place that belongs to the Emperor Napoleon in the history of the period." But the Emperor Francis could think only of the petty loss to his family.

On the 10th April Lord Castlereagh, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, arrived in Paris. He disapproved of all the proposed arrangements, but waived his objection to the choice of Elba in consideration of the agreement already arrived at. He declined to agree to any of the other conditions, and made special objection to the recognition of the Imperial Title.

The treaty, as signed on the 11th April by the representatives of Russia, Prussia, Austria, and Napoleon, is known as the Treaty of Fontainebleau, and was in the following terms:—

"Articles of Treaty between the Allied Powers and His Majesty the Emperor Napoleon.

"Article 1.—His Majesty the Emperor Napoleon renounces for himself, his successors and descendants, as well as for all

the members of his Family, all right of sovereignty and dominion as well over the French Empire and the Kingdom of Italy, as over every other Country.

"Article 2.—Their Majesties the Emperor Napoleon and the Empress Marie Louise shall retain their titles and rank, to be enjoyed during their lives. The mother, brother, sisters, nephews, and nieces of the Emperor shall also retain, wherever they may reside, the titles of Princes of his Family.

"Article 3.—The Island of Elba, which the Emperor Napoleon has chosen as his place of residence, shall form during his life a separate principality, which he shall possess in full sovereignty and property. The Emperor Napoleon shall also be accorded in full property an annual revenue of two million francs, which shall be carried as a rent-charge upon the great book of France, of which sum one million shall go in reversion to the Empress.

"Article 4.—The Duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla shall be given in full property and sovereignty to Her Majesty the Empress Marie Louise. They shall pass to her son and his descendants in the direct line. The Prince her son shall take henceforth the title of Prince of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla.

"Article 5.—All the Powers engage to employ their good offices with the Barbary States to cause to be respected the flag of the Island of Elba, and for that purpose the relations of those States shall be assimilated to those of France.

"Article 6.—There shall be reserved in the territories hereby renounced by the Emperor Napoleon, for himself and his family, domains, or rent-charges upon the great book of France, producing an annual net revenue, free of all charges, of 2,500,000 francs. These domains or rent-charges shall belong in full property, and to dispose of as they may deem fit, to the Princes and Princesses of his family, and shall be divided among them in such a manner that the revenue

of each shall be in the following proportion, that is to say: To Madame Mère, 300,000 francs. To the King Joseph and his Queen, 500,000 francs. To the King Louis, 200,000 francs. To the Queen Hortense and her child, 400,000 francs. To the King Jerome and his Queen, 500,000 francs. To the Princess Elisa, 300,000 francs. To the Princess Pauline, 300,000 francs. The Princes and Princesses of the family of the Emperor will also keep all their property, movable and immovable, of whatever nature it may be, which they possess by individual and particular right, and especially the rent-charges which they all equally enjoy upon the great book of France or the Mount Napoleon of Milan.

"Article 7.—The annual allowance of the Empress Josephine shall be reduced to a million in domains or in inscriptions upon the great book of France. She will continue to enjoy in full ownership her individual property, movable and immovable, with power to dispose of it in conformity with the laws of France.

"Article 8.—There shall be given to the Prince Eugène, Viceroy of Italy, a suitable establishment out of France.

"Article 9.—The property which the Emperor Napoleon possesses in France, whether as extraordinary domain, or as private domain, shall remain with the Crown. Upon the funds placed by the Emperor, whether upon the great book, or upon the Bank of France, or upon the security of the forests, or in any other manner, and which H.M. abandons to the Crown, there shall be reserved a capital not exceeding two millions, to be employed in gratifications in favour of the persons whose names shall be placed upon a list which shall be signed by the Emperor Napoleon, and will be sent to the French Government.

"Article 10.—All the diamonds of the Crown will remain in France.

"Article 11.—The Emperor Napoleon will return to the

Treasury and to the other public chests all the moneys and effects which may have been taken out by his orders with the exception of the Civil List.

"Article 12.—The debts of the household of H.M. the Emperor Napoleon, as they were on the day of the signing of the present treaty, shall be immediately discharged out of the arrears due from the Public Treasury to the Civil List, according to accounts which shall be signed by a Commissioner nominated for that purpose.

"Article 13.—The obligations of the Mount Napoleon of Milan towards their creditors, whether French or Foreign, shall be redeemed, and no alteration shall be made on this point.

"Article 14.—All the necessary passports shall be given for free passage for H.M. the Emperor Napoleon, the Empress, the Princes, Princesses, and all persons of their suites who may wish to accompany them or to establish themselves outside of France, as also for the passage of all the equipages, horses, and effects that belong to them. The Allied Powers consequently will provide officers and troops or escorts.

"Article 15.—The French Imperial Guard will furnish a detachment of twelve hundred to fifteen hundred men of all arms to serve as escort to the Emperor Napoleon as far as St. Tropez, the place of his embarkation.

"Article 16.—There will be provided an armed corvette and the necessary ships to transport H.M. the Emperor Napoleon and his household; and the corvette will remain the full property of H.M. the Emperor.

"Article 17.—H.M. the Emperor may take with him and retain as his guard four hundred men, officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates.

"Article 18.—All the Frenchmen who may follow H.M. the Emperor Napoleon and his family will be obliged to return

to France within the term of three years if they do not wish to lose their quality as Frenchmen, unless they are included in the employments that the French Government reserves itself the right to accord after the expiration of that term.

" Article 19.—The Polish troops of all arms which are in the French service shall be at liberty to return to their homes, retaining their arms and baggage as evidence of their honourable services ; officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates shall retain their decorations which have been accorded to them and the pensions attached to such decorations.

" Article 20.—The High Allied Powers guarantee the execution of all the articles of the present treaty ; they undertake to obtain their adoption and their guarantee by France.

" Article 21.—The present treaty shall be ratified and the ratification exchanged at Paris within two days.

" Done at Paris, April 11th, 1814.

Austria	The Prince de Metternich.
	J. F. Comte de Stadion.
Russia	Audré Comte de Rasommouffsky.
	Charles Robert de Nesselrode.
Prussia	Charles Aug. Baron de Hardenberg.
	Marshal Ney.
	Caulaincourt."

The Provisional Government acceded on behalf of France, in the following terms : " The Allied Powers having concluded a treaty with His Majesty the Emperor Napoleon, and that treaty containing dispositions in the execution of which the French Government is in a position to take a part and reciprocal explanations having taken place on this point, the Provisional Government of France, with the aim of concurring effectively in all the measures which have been adopted, makes it a duty to declare that it adheres as far as

need be, and guarantees, in all that concerns France, the execution of the stipulations contained in that treaty, which has been signed to-day by the Plenipotentiaries of the High Allied Powers, and by those of his Majesty the Emperor Napoleon.

"PARIS, the 11*th April*, 1814."

Then follow the signatures of the members of the Provisional Government, headed by that of Talleyrand.

That the Bourbon Government should be expressly implicated, the following declaration was issued by Talleyrand on the 31st May, the day after the date of the Treaty of Paris: "The undersigned, the Minister Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, having acquainted the King with the demand which their Excellencies the Plenipotentiaries of the Allied Courts have been instructed by their Sovereigns to make with regard to the treaty of the 11th April, to which the Provisional Government has acceded, it has pleased His Majesty to authorise him to declare in His name that the clauses of the treaty with which France is charged will be faithfully executed. He has, in consequence, the honour to so declare by these presents to their Excellencies.

"THE PRINCE OF BENEVENTO.

"PARIS, the 31*st May*, 1814."

Castlereagh wrote to Earl Bathurst, then acting Foreign Secretary:—

"PARIS, *April* 13*th*, 1814.

"I should have wished to substitute another position in lieu of Elba for the seat of Napoleon's retirement, but none having the quality of security, on which he insisted, seemed disposable to which equal objections did not occur, and I did not feel that I could encourage the alternative which M. de Caulaincourt assured me Bonaparte repeatedly mentioned, namely, an asylum in England."

On the 27th April, the following qualified accession to the

treaty was issued : " His Royal Highness, the Prince Regent, having full knowledge of the contents of the said treaty, accedes to the same in the name and on behalf of His Majesty, as far as respects the stipulations relative to the possession in sovereignty of the Island of Elba, and also of the Duchies of Parma, Placentia, and Guastalla. But His Royal Highness is not to be considered, by this act of accession, to have become a party, in the name of His Majesty, to any of the other provisions and stipulations contained therein."

England, through Lord Castlereagh, had from the first disapproved of the choice of Elba, but had agreed to submit to the wishes of the Czar on that point. England expressly repudiated all responsibility for any of the other conditions of the treaty, and Lord Castlereagh had made a special reference to the British refusal to accord the title of Emperor.

Napoleon, for his part, trusted no Power but England, and made repeated efforts to obtain " an asylum in England," the only country which offered " the quality of security," that is, safety from assassination. Castlereagh, while officially declining the desired permission, was not disinclined to consider the idea. On the 5th May, 1814, he wrote to Lord Liverpool : " If his taste for an asylum in England should continue, would you allow him to reside in some distant province ? It would obviate much alarm on the Continent."[1] It is not altogether surprising therefore that Napoleon should have believed that he would be well received in England. At his last interview with Macdonald at Fontainebleau he said that " possibly he should not remain long in Elba, but visit England, and study the great and liberal establishments of that country." He spoke of the project to Campbell, Schouvaloff, Koller, and others : and soon after his arrival at Elba, he said, according to Colonel Vincent, that if he left Elba it would be for England.

Those who thought Elba was unsuitable had no reasonable alternative to offer. Napoleon would not have accepted a

[1] Yonge, "The Life of Lord Liverpool," p. 508.

more distant place of exile. Rather than submit to be sent further away he would have fought on in desperation with his Guard and such other troops as he could collect. He might have gained some successes, with tremendous results. In any case, to hunt him like a bandit and wear him down by overwhelming numbers, would have been horrible.

The Treaty of Fontainebleau made Napoleon an independent Sovereign, or Prince. He called himself, with more right than humour, "Napoleon, Emperor and King of the Island of Elba." As an independent monarch he was, in theory, entitled to complete freedom of action. There was nothing in the treaty to prevent him from landing, when he chose, on the coast of Italy, or even of France, though no brother Sovereign was under any obligation to receive him as a visitor. Theoretically, and legally, Napoleon might go where he pleased, provided he obtained a passport or other permission to land on foreign soil. Practically, however, it was well understood that he was expected to remain quietly on his island, and that any attempt to leave it would be regarded as an assault upon the peace of Europe, and any monarch who received the perturbator would be considered a partner in the attack. What would be the situation if Europe declined, or neglected, to carry out her part of the treaty, had not been considered.

It was known that Talleyrand regarded the treaty as a mere dodge for removing Napoleon from France. Once that was accomplished the great man would be securely confined in some safer and more distant prison.

The world had now to learn that Louis XVIII had all Talleyrand's contempt for treaties. The only stipulations in the treaty which he did not ignore were those with regard to Elba and the brig. Every single one of the other clauses he repudiated entirely. He paid no money to Napoleon or to any member of his family, and when the Emperor made out a list of the persons to whom he wished certain gratifications to be paid, in accordance with Article 6, no notice was taken.

On the other hand, the Corsican lawyer's son adhered like a gentleman to the bargain he had made. Besides the Crowns of France and Italy and the rest of the French Empire, he gave up: the Crown jewels, many of which had been bought by him out of his Civil List; the private estates which he had also bought out of savings from his Civil List; the furniture and ornaments of the Tuileries and other palaces, which had been swept bare by the Revolution, and which he had re-stocked out of his savings.

Without these properties the French Government would have been put to great expense to provide what was necessary for Louis XVIII and the Royal Family. Except the Crown jewels, they belonged to Napoleon personally, and he exchanged them by signed contract, for Elba and certain annuities. It was a formal bargain on a matter of money, which no gentleman would think of repudiating. Louis XVIII, however, was not ashamed to keep what Napoleon had given up, and decline the payment he had solemnly promised to make in return.

The Provisional Government went so far as to seize the wagons which had accompanied Marie Louise to Blois and Orleans, which contained Napoleon's private cash savings. He had annually put by a large sum from his Civil List. In 1813 and 1814 he had drawn heavily upon this reserve for the pay of his soldiers, but a sum of ten to twelve million francs remained, and it was expressly reserved to Napoleon by the 11th Article of the Treaty of Fontainebleau.

The Provisional Government sent an agent, Dudon, who arrived at Orleans on the 10th April. He seized and forwarded to Paris these savings; the Crown Treasure, with the exception of six million francs left with the Empress; the Crown diamonds; the diamonds belonging to the Empress; the silver, worth about one hundred and twenty thousand pounds (the Empress had to borrow from the Bishop of Orleans for her service); Napoleon's tobacco-boxes, his usual form of present, worth altogether about sixteen

thousand pounds; Napoleon's Imperial robes, uniforms and other clothing, down to shirts and handkerchiefs.

Meanwhile the great soldier was passing days of misery at Fontainebleau. It was supposed that he would put an end to his life. Every traveller from Fontainebleau was asked, "Is he dead?" The wish was father to the thought. The death of Napoleon would have been a relief to the world. He knew that perfectly well. He had already, when at the height of his power, said that on his death a sigh of relief would go round. Napoleon also knew that his death at that time would improve the prospects of his son, and lighten the terms to be imposed upon France by her conquerors. When he wrote to Marie Louise, and to Meneval, that his death might occur, he was acknowledging these facts.

His dramatic pose at this time much impressed those about him at Fontainebleau. "For some days," writes Fain, his secretary, "he seems preoccupied with a secret design. He becomes animated only when running over the funereal pages of history. The subject of his most intimate conversations is always the voluntary death which the men of antiquity did not hesitate to give themselves in a similar situation to his own." This is characteristic of Napoleon's histrionic spirit, and his tendency to refer to classic examples.

Fain says that he was informed that ever since the retreat from Moscow, Napoleon had carried on his person a small bag containing a poison, said to be opium. In the night of 12th–13th April the valet who slept outside his half-open door was awake, and he saw his master put something in a glass of water, drink it, and go to bed. Soon afterwards Napoleon complained of severe internal pain and sent for the resident doctor, Yvan. Bertrand, Caulaincourt, and Maret were also summoned, and arrived promptly. But the poison was weak, and Napoleon recovered, after a profuse perspiration. He exclaimed, "God does not wish it." Yvan lost his head, rushed out of the palace, jumped on to a horse, and galloped off wildly into the darkness. He explained

afterwards that he was afraid of being accused of poisoning the Emperor. Fain concludes with this remark: "What happened is the secret of the interior. In any case on the morning of the 13th Napoleon rises and dresses as usual." Fain had doubts as to the truth of the story.

Ségur, who wrote later, says the valet at the door was Hubert, and that those who entered the room were Turenne, Caulaincourt, Bertrand, Maret, and Yvan. He says that both Turenne and Yvan afterwards spoke to him of the attempted suicide. Constant, the chief valet, in his "Memoirs," says that the valet in attendance was Pelard; that the persons summoned to the bedroom were himself, Caulaincourt, and Yvan, that after two slight bouts of sickness, Napoleon took a cup of tea, and was better, and that next morning he was quite well. Constant saw on the floor in front of the fire the remains of a small bag which Napoleon had carried about him ever since the Spanish campaign, and which contained poison.

Macdonald had an interview with Napoleon on the 13th, the morning after the sickness, and observed only that the Emperor looked as if recovering from a dream, which would be natural after a dose of opium.

Napoleon himself afterwards made frequent and strong remarks about the cowardice of suicide, and the contempt he felt for those who had not the fortitude to live through their misfortunes. He said it required more courage to survive the first throne of the world, than to kill himself. But such opinions would not prevent a man from putting an end to his life in a moment of impulsive despair; and at St. Helena he admitted the truth of the story.[1] He was not proud of it, for it laid him open to the charge of double cowardice, of inability to face either life or death.

His half-hearted attempt having failed, Napoleon now determined to put his trust in time and the possibilities of

[1] Montholon, "Récits de la captivité de l'Empereur Napoléon à Sainte Hélène," Vol. II, p. 418.

the future. "Only the dead never return," he remarked significantly to Bausset.

A heavy gloom hung over the palace at Fontainebleau. The great apartments were closed. Napoleon and his suite occupied the smaller rooms on the first floor. All the Marshals had gone. Berthier had obtained Napoleon's permission to go to Paris in connection with some affairs arising from his duties as Major-General of the army of the Emperor, remarking that he would be back next day. "He will not come back," said Napoleon to Maret; and he was right. To a more recent friend, Macdonald, who made no protestations of eternal loyalty, the Emperor gave the sword which Murad Bey had carried at the battle of Mount Thabor. The chief valet, Constant, and the famous mameluke Roustam, went off without saying farewell, each with such booty as he had been able to lay his hands on.

A small handful of men who for various reasons, not in every case disinterested, were willing to make the journey to Elba, comprised nearly the whole of his following. Two officers who stayed to the end were afterwards closely associated with the Emperor. They were Colonels Gourgaud and Montholon, who were destined to make the journey to St. Helena.

CHAPTER IV

THE JOURNEY TO THE COAST

THE Powers appointed Commissioners to escort Napoleon to his new domain. General Koller represented Austria; General Schouvaloff, Russia; Count Truchsess-Waldburg, Prussia; and Colonel Neil Campbell, England.

The Austrian, Russian, and Prussian Commissioners were instructed to give Napoleon the Imperial title, and all the deference due to it, in accordance with the Treaty of Fontainebleau. The British Commissioner received no official information as to the treaty. Lord Castlereagh's instructions to him were that he should conduct himself "with every proper respect and attention to Napoleon, to whose secure asylum in the Island of Elba it is the wish of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent to afford every facility and protection."[1] The Imperial title and honours are impliedly excluded.

Campbell arrived at Fontainebleau on the 16th April, and in the evening had some conversation with General Bertrand, the Grand Marshal of the Palace. Bertrand said that the Emperor, "which title," says Campbell, "appeared to be repeated with studied formality," wished to travel incognito, and to change the port of embarkation from St. Tropez to Piombino, in Tuscany, just opposite to Elba. Koller had already been approached with the same request, and had sent his A.D.C., Major Clam, to the Emperor Francis at

[1] Campbell, "Napoleon at Fontainebleau and Elba," p. 154.

Rambouillet for an answer. Napoleon's object was to travel through the north of Italy, and so draw near the army of Italy, which was still loyal to him, but the Allies would not consent to any such change of route.

Bertrand asked Campbell to go with them as far as Elba itself, and to remain there at least until affairs were settled; and he was visibly relieved when Campbell said he had instructions to do this if desired.

On the 17th Napoleon received the Commissioners, separately. First the Russian, Schouvaloff, for about five minutes, a few polite questions being asked about the Czar Alexander. Then the Austrian, Koller, also for five minutes, to whom Napoleon expressed his indignation at the presence of a Prussian Commissioner; they might as well have sent others from Baden or Darmstadt. Then Campbell was summoned for a long and friendly interview, the Prussian being sent for last and dismissed at once with a cold bow and a remark of strong objection to his presence.

Campbell says that when he entered Napoleon's apartment: "I saw before me a short active-looking man, who was rapidly pacing the length of his apartment, like some wild animal in his cell. He was dressed in an old green uniform with gold epaulets, blue pantaloons, and red topboots, unshaven, uncombed, with the fallen particles of snuff scattered profusely upon his upper lip and breast. Upon his becoming aware of my presence he turned quickly towards me, and saluted me with a courteous smile, evidently endeavouring to conceal his anxiety and agitation by an assumed placidity of manner."

Napoleon paid many compliments to Wellington, and to the British Army, and said: "Your nation is the greatest of them all. I esteem it more than all the others. I have been your greatest enemy, frankly such, but I am so no longer. I wished also to raise the French nation, but my plans have not succeeded. It is fate." "Here," says Campbell, "he stopped short, seeming greatly affected, and

NIC *ALIAS* NAP'S MARCH TO ELBA

From George Cruikshank's caricature of 1 May, 1814

the tears were in his eyes." He then asked to be allowed to make the sea voyage on a British man-of-war. The British, alone, had never given in to him, and it was to their representative that he now turned for protection. He closed the interview by saying : " I am at your disposal. I am your subject, I depend entirely on you."[1]

On the 18th, Campbell having obtained permission from Castlereagh to make use of a British man-of-war for Napoleon's voyage to Elba, Napoleon made further difficulties. He wished to change his route, which had been arranged by way of Auxerre, Lyons, Grenoble, Gap, and Digne, to the road of Briare, Lyons, Valence, Avignon, on the ground that his Guard had already marched to Briare, and that his carriage was directed there from Orleans, and that the new route had not been the seat of war. Caulaincourt, who was taking his leave of Napoleon, was directed by him to deliver this message to the Allied Sovereigns or their representatives in Paris ; and to add that if his wishes were not deferred to Napoleon would throw himself into the arms of the English. " That is a great nation," he repeated once more to his followers. " I am convinced that I should be in safety in England, and would be treated with magnanimity." However, permission to make the change of route was obtained.

Napoleon then proceeded to insist that before starting he should be given a copy of the order sent by the French Government to the Commandant at Elba, with regard to his reception. This accordingly was obtained from Paris in the course of the day. It ran as follows :—

" Paris, the 18*th April*, 1814.

" I am sending you, Commandant, an order according to which you will deliver over to Napoleon Bonaparte, former Emperor of the French, the Island of Elba, when he disembarks on the island. This arrangement is in conformity

[1] Campbell, p. 157.

with the intentions of the Allied Powers, and nothing must oppose its execution. The troops which are in the Island of Elba, and all the stores belonging to France, must be removed, and an act must be drawn up declaring the delivery of the island to Napoleon.

"I have the honour, etc.,

"The Commissioner to the Department of War,

"General Count Dupont."

"To the Commandant-in-Chief of the Island of Elba.

"Paris, 18*th April*, 1814.

"Monsieur, brother of the King, Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom, orders the Island of Elba to be given up to Napoleon Bonaparte, former Emperor of the French, on his arrival in that island.

"By order of Monsieur, Lieutenant-General of the Kingdom, etc. etc.

"The Commissioner to the Department of War,

"General Count Dupont."

It will be observed that within seven days of the Treaty of Fontainebleau the French Government had repudiated the clause by which Napoleon was to be given the title of Emperor.

19th April.—Napoleon now declared that he would not leave Fontainebleau unless the Powers guaranteed that the guns and military stores would be left for his use. Major Clam was accordingly sent to Paris with this request, but without waiting for his return the 20th April was definitely fixed as the day of departure, Napoleon being assured by General Koller that Clam would soon catch them up with the required instructions, as, in fact, he did, on the 21st.

20th April.—At ten a.m. the carriages were drawn up in the Court of Fontainebleau Palace, ready for the journey,

when Napoleon sent for General Koller, and told him that he had decided not to depart. He said that as the Allies had not remained faithful to their engagements, he was entitled to revoke his abdication, which had always been only conditional. On Koller's enquiry in what respect the Allies had broken the Treaty of Fontainebleau, Napoleon said that it had been agreed that the Empress was to go with him (alluding to Article 14, which promised passports for his family). Koller replied that Marie Louise of her own free will had decided not to accompany him.

When Koller observed that peace on good terms might have been obtained at Prague in 1813 Napoleon was silent for a moment; then he said: "Well, at that time, I lulled myself with dreams.[1] Is it not permitted to dream sometimes? I have now quite recovered. I must admit that I was mistaken in my opinion of my opponents; I thought you were still the men I had known on earlier occasions, and you had changed, to your advantage, in the meantime."

He then said he considered Austria to be in a dangerous position, through her alliance with Russia and Prussia, whereas France was her natural ally. When Koller replied that immediate dangers were always looked at more closely than distant anxieties, Napoleon remarked: "I esteem you for the freedom of your words; if you speak with equal candour to your Sovereign, I must regard you as a priceless servant. I was not so fortunate as to possess any such."

An Adjutant now entered to announce that the Grand Marshal Bertrand desired him to observe that it was already eleven o'clock, to which Napoleon sharply replied: "Since when have I been obliged to regulate my movements according to the Grand Marshal's clock? I shall depart when I please, and perhaps not at all." He then continued the

[1] "Ich habe mich in Träumen gewiegt," reports Koller. Truchsess-Waldburg and Campbell both give versions of what passed at the interview, from what Koller told them. Campbell makes Napoleon exclaim, "But it is all like a dream."

conversation, speaking with emotion of the cruel separation from his wife and child—the tears rolling down his cheeks.[1]

He asked Koller what he should do if he was not welcomed at Elba. Koller suggested his seeking an asylum in England. "That is what I have thought also, but perhaps the English might feel some hostility towards me."[2] "Sire," replied Koller, "as you have never made war in that country reconciliation would be all the easier."

Napoleon then sent for Campbell and asked him what he thought about England as a possible refuge. "Sire,"[3] said Campbell, "I think that the Sovereign and the nation would always act with generosity and be faithful to their engagements." "Yes," said Napoleon, "I am sure that I would not be refused an asylum there."

Napoleon then sent for the Russian Commissioner, whom he dismissed almost at once, and he was equally cold and curt to the Prussian, who came last.

Then ensued the famous farewell to the Old Guard. Napoleon descended the stairs into the great court of the Palace, where the carriages and two ranks of the Old Guard had been waiting all the morning. He sent for the Commissioners to be present, assembled the officers around him, and addressed them as follows[4]:—

"Officers, non-commissioned officers, and soldiers of the Old Guard! I bid you farewell. For twenty years I have found you brave and faithful, marching in the path of glory. The Allied Powers have armed all Europe against us. The enemy, by stealing three marches upon me, entered Paris. I was marching to drive them out. They would not have

[1] Campbell, p. 101.

[2] Truchsess-Waldburg, "Napoleon Buonaparte's Reise," p. 16.

[3] Though Campbell abstained from conferring upon Napoleon the title of Emperor, he addressed him as a Sovereign.

[4] Campbell's report, which he says is, "As nearly as I could recollect the words, in conjunction with the other Commissioners," is here relied upon, with some slight additions from Truchsess-Waldburg or Koller. The Commissioners had agreed to supply each other with such information as came their way, and discussed with each other on the journey the exact phrases used by Napoleon. There are other versions.

A CONTEMPORARY GERMAN VIEW OF NAPOLEON'S JOURNEY FROM FONTAINEBLEAU TO THE COAST, APRIL, 1814

remained three days. I thank you for the noble spirit you showed under these circumstances. But a part of the army abandoned me and went over to the enemy. From that moment a prompt deliverance of the capital had become impossible. I might, with three-fourths of the army still faithful to me, and with the consent and support of the great majority of the population, have directed myself upon the Loire, or upon the fortresses, and kept up the war for several years. But foreign and civil war would have devastated our beautiful country, and at the cost of such sacrifices and ravages could we hope to conquer united Europe, supported by the influence of the City of Paris, which a faction had succeeded in dominating ?

" Under these circumstances I have considered only the welfare of France. I have made the sacrifice of all my rights, and am ready to make that of my person, for all my life has been devoted to the happiness and the glory of France.

" Soldiers ! serve faithfully your new Sovereign. The sweetest occupation of my life will be henceforth to make known to posterity all the great deeds you have done, and my only consolation will be to learn what France will be doing for the glory of her name.

" You are all my children. I cannot embrace you all, but I shall be embracing all in the person of your General. Come, General." (He embraced General Petit, and kissed him on both cheeks.) " Bring me the eagles which have served us as guides through so many perils and such days of glory." He silently embraced the flag for fully half a minute ; then, lifting up his hand, he said : " Farewell ! My good wishes will always be with you ! Keep me in your memory ! "

Napoleon spoke with such dignity and was himself so visibly affected that nearly all about him, including even the foreign Commissioners, were in tears ; those nearest kissed his hands, his coat, any piece of his clothing. Even Campbell was overcome ; when he had recovered he said, " That was indeed a most moving scene, and worthy of the

great man who created it." Even now after a hundred years the bare recital helps us to understand the magic and the power of Napoleon.

The Guards came up to Koller, whose bearing had been most sympathetic, and begged him to watch over their beloved Emperor; they would be for ever grateful. Then the carriages drove off.

When on the road the order was as follows :—

A dozen Cavalry of the Guard.

A carriage containing General Drouot and other officers.

A *dormeuse de voyage*, with Napoleon and Bertrand.

Fifty Cavalry of the Guard.

The carriage of General Koller.

The carriage of General Schouvaloff.

The carriage of Colonel Campbell.

The carriage of Count Truchsess-Waldburg.

The carriage of Schouvaloff's Adjutant, Olewieff.

Eight carriages with Napoleon's household.

The fifteen carriages required a total of sixty horses.

During the first two days of the journey, as long as his Guard was with him, Napoleon was received with cries of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" and the Commissioners were roundly abused. How far all this was genuine is not sure, for the officers of the Guard always went ahead and prepared the people for the part that was expected of them. Campbell heard the soldiers who were met on the route receiving the order, "*Criez Vive l'Empereur.*"

Passing through Nemours and Montargis, they reached Briare at 8.30 p.m., and stopped there the night.

At Briare they found the companies of the infantry of the Old Guard who were on their way to Elba. They left Napoleon at Briare, marching by way of Auxerre and Mont Cenis, to take ship at Savona. They had with them a quantity of Napoleon's baggage, and the Imperial state coach, which was far too cumbersome to be used on the roads of Elba, but Napoleon wanted all his Imperial trappings about him.

21st April.—Napoleon invited Campbell to breakfast with him, and was as usual very complimentary to him and his nation. The journey was continued at noon and Nevers reached in the evening.

So far Napoleon had been in fair spirits, and had even made jokes about his situation. Truchsess-Waldburg says that, speaking to the Commissioners, "He very candidly traced the different steps of his career for the last twenty-five years, adding that in balancing the account he was not a loser, for he began the game with a six-franc piece in his pocket, and now emerged very rich."

In the early part of the journey Napoleon sent for the Mayor or Prefect of the towns through which he passed, and enquired of them, as if he were still Emperor, as to the condition of the people; but he gave that up when, as he advanced southward, the officials, one after the other, had the hardihood to tell him that the miserable state of the country was due to the war and the conscriptions.

22nd April.—A start was made at 6 a.m. The cavalry of the Guard went as far as Villeneuve and then turned back. Napoleon declined the Cossack and Austrian escort that was waiting, declaring that he had no need of foreign protection. "To go through France," he said, "I require neither my Guard nor the protection of foreigners; all that I require is a British representative so that I may be quite at ease as to the voyage in the Mediterranean."[1]

He was undeceived at once. At Moulins, where dinner was to have been taken, a large crowd was assembled of persons wearing white cockades and crying "*Vive le Roi.*" Napoleon hurried on and did not halt until, after midnight, Roanne was reached. Here a detachment of Austrian troops provided the necessary shelter. From the moment the Guard left him there was a complete change in the reception of Napoleon.

At Roanne they were near Pradines, where Cardinal

[1] "L'île d'Elbe et les Cent Jours," Correspondance, Vol. 31, p. 2.

Fesch and his half-sister, Letizia, the mother of Napoleon, were at the time residing, in a religious house founded by Fesch. Messages passed between Napoleon and his relations, but no meeting took place.

23rd April.—Napoleon asked Campbell to go on in front and give orders for a British man-of-war from Marseilles or Toulon to be at the point of embarkation for his use. He said plainly that he feared insult on a French ship. Campbell accordingly hurried on.

Leaving Roanne at 9 a.m., Napoleon arrived at Lyons in the night but went on without stopping. A considerable body of Austrian troops had been brought into the town; some of them were kept up to accord Napoleon his Imperial honours. There were also a few cries of "*Vive l'Empereur*" from groups of French citizens, mingled with other cries of "*Vive le Roi! A bas Napoléon!*"

24th April.—About midday Campbell met Augereau, who was travelling to Paris, having left his soldiers at Valence. The Duc de Castiglione was not too pleased to hear that he was about to encounter his former comrade and master. He had but recently in a proclamation to his troops, of the 16th April, described Napoleon as "a man who after sacrificing millions of victims to his cruel ambition, had not the heart to die like a soldier." The interview promised to be stormy, for Augereau told Campbell he should speak his mind plainly. "He is a coward, I always thought so. He ought to have marched up to the cannon and thus ended his existence." Soon afterwards the meeting took place, on the high road. Having both alighted from their carriages, Napoleon took off his hat. Augereau touched his. Napoleon then embraced Augereau. They walked together for some minutes, followed by their attendants at a respectful distance. The conversation was not overheard, but it was understood that it was temperate on the part of Napoleon and heated on that of the Marshal, who upbraided the Emperor for having sacrificed the welfare of France to his insatiable ambition. Napoleon

MARSHAL AUGEREAU AND NAPOLEON

French caricature of a celebrated incident during Napoleon's journey from Fontainebleau to the coast

brought the meeting to a close by embracing Augereau once more and taking off his hat, to which the only response was, as before, a careless touch of the cap. When his carriage was passing the Commissioners Augereau saluted them with great punctiliousness. The Marshal's boorish behaviour, loud tone, and rough gestures, were among the credentials that had brought him to the front in the unkempt period of the Revolution. Napoleon's superior education was precisely what had raised him above such barbarians. At Valence, Augereau's troops, in spite of the Marshal's proclamation, and though compelled to wear the white cockade, greeted the Emperor with enthusiasm.

At 6.30 p.m. a rest was taken at Montelimar for dinner. The sub-prefect gave disquieting news as to the reception that awaited the fallen man further on, especially at Avignon. It was rumoured that the Provisional Government had sent agents forward to incite the people against him. The Maubreuil revelations, in which Talleyrand was afterwards implicated, prove that this had actually been done.

Some of Napoleon's carriages had preceded him, and had been already surrounded by an angry mob, at Avignon, where the grooms had found it necessary to adopt the white cockade, and to shout "*Vive le Roi!*" before they were allowed to continue on their way. A messenger was therefore sent forward to Avignon to collect any gendarmes or national guards who might be available.

25th April.—Going on again through the night, Napoleon found, at every stopping-place, the houses lighted and the populace waiting up, to greet him with cries of "*A bas le tyran! A bas Nicolas! Vive le Roi!*" A rumour had got about that his baptismal name was Nicholas. At 3 a.m. he passed Orange, and even at that hour there were people about waiting to insult and if possible maltreat him. However, they hurried on, and at 6 a.m. arrived outside Avignon. The inhabitants had congregated by the post-horses which were in readiness. When the Emperor's carriage

arrived it was surrounded by a mob, stones were thrown, and one ruffian aimed a blow at the coachman with a sword. Happily, no blood was shed, the improvised escort proving sufficient to keep off the people while the horses were being quickly changed; they were started off at a gallop, and were driven round the outskirts of the town.

Worse was to follow at Orgon, reached about noon. Just where the post-horses were waiting a gallows had been erected and an effigy of Napoleon hung up, blood and dirt upon it, with a paper on which was written: "*Tel sera tôt ou tard le sort du Tyran*" ("Such will be sooner or later the fate of the Tyrant"). Napoleon, pale and terrified, tried to hide behind Bertrand in a corner of his carriage. The Commissioners, Koller, Schouvaloff, and Truchsess-Waldburg, with their attendants, and Napoleon's people, placed themselves in front of the carriage. Schouvaloff harangued the crowd, telling them they ought to be ashamed to insult the fallen. Only contempt should be felt for a man who had hoped to govern the world and was now in need of their generosity. It was unworthy of the French nation to take any other vengeance. This speech had some effect, and finally the crowd was induced to move away from the wheels of the carriage, which was at once started off at a great pace.

About a mile beyond the town Napoleon covered himself up with a plain blue overcoat, and put on a common round hat, with a white cockade. Thus disguised as a courier he rode on horseback in advance, accompanied by one of the outriders. When his carriage arrived at the next stopping-place, which he had already successfully passed, the mob attempted to break into it, and Bertrand, who was seated inside, might have been roughly handled if the Commissioners and their attendants had failed to keep off the furious people.

The Commissioners overtook Napoleon at Calade, in a miserable little inn by the roadside, where they found him sitting in a small room, his head supported on his arms, his face bathed in tears. On his arrival the landlady had asked

him whether he had seen Bonaparte, to which he replied in the negative, whereupon she burst into a torrent of abuse of him. "I am curious to see," she said, "whether he will succeed in escaping; I think the people will murder him, and it must be admitted that the scoundrel deserves it." Napoleon said afterwards that the woman had prophesied that when he was on the ship he would be thrown into the sea.[1] He appears to have feared the French ship from the very first. After the return from Elba this inn was pillaged by the soldiers, and the landlady had to leave the district.

To conceal his identity Napoleon wished to call himself Colonel Campbell, but, on being reminded that Campbell had already passed that way, he chose the name of Lord Burghersh, who had originally been selected to act as British Commissioner, but had declined on hearing that he would have to remain on the Island of Elba. Napoleon seemed to believe that his safety depended upon the British name.

"Here," says Truchsess-Waldburg, "we dined, but as the dinner had not been prepared by his own cooks, Napoleon had not the courage to partake of it, for fear of being poisoned. He felt ashamed, however, at seeing us all eat, both with good appetites and good consciences, and therefore helped himself from every dish, but without swallowing the least morsel; he spat everything out upon his plate or behind his chair. A little bread, and a bottle of wine taken from his carriage, and which he divided with us, constituted his whole repast. He even begged us to look around and see if we could not anywhere discover a private door through which he might slip out, or if the window, whose shutters upon entering he had half-closed at the bottom, was too high for him to jump out of in case of need. On examination I found the window on the outside was provided with an iron trellis-work, and threw him into evident consternation as I communicated the discovery. At the least noise he started up in terror and changed colour. After dinner we left him alone, and, as we

[1] "L'île d'Elbe et les Cent Jours," Correspondance, Vol. 31, p. 8.

went in and out, found him frequently weeping. His politeness towards us went so far as to make a bowl of cold punch for us; he rolled up his mantle in the form of a cushion on the sofa and pressingly begged General Koller to repose himself on it, since he must be fatigued from the heat of the day."

This account is corroborated by Koller, who in his report to Metternich says: "It would be tedious to describe to your Serene Highness the strange and trying hours that we passed at the inn, when the Emperor was overcome with anxiety, thought of nothing but the means to be adopted for his safety, the disguise he should adopt, etc." Clam wrote: "He allowed himself to be completely overmastered by his fears. He was white and disfigured, his voice was broken, he could not manage to appear calm even before the domestics"; and so on.

26th April.—After much discussion new disguises were at length agreed upon. Napoleon put on the Austrian uniform of Koller, the Prussian forage cap of Truchsess-Waldburg, and the Russian cloak of Schouvaloff. The Austrian coat used on this occasion is still in the possession of the Koller family, and has never been worn since Napoleon hid under it. It is of the traditional light blue still retained in the Austrian army, with a red somewhat brighter than that of to-day, heavy gold facings, and the white and red band of the order of Theresa. For further mystification Schouvaloff's Adjutant, Major Olewieff, was put forward in Napoleon's discarded costume of courier, to impersonate the Emperor. He was disguised as Napoleon in disguise, while the genuine article was hidden under an incongruous collection of allied offerings.[1]

Soon after midnight the party walked to the carriages in an order which had been previously arranged. Drouot led; then came the Adjutant in the Emperor's place; Koller; Napoleon, in a costume which defied analysis; Schouvaloff; and finally Truchsess-Waldburg. These complicated subterfuges quite mystified the waiting mob. They allowed the

[1] Truchsess-Waldburg, 40; Helfert, 41, 63.

Russian Adjutant to seat himself unmolested in Napoleon's grand equipage, and in the meantime Napoleon safely reached the Austrian carriage, where he sat trembling, in the shadow of General Koller. He insisted that the servant on the box should smoke, in order to make it abundantly plain that no Emperor could be in the carriage. With the same object he asked Koller to sing, and when the Austrian General declared he had no voice, said at least he should whistle : "And with this singular music," says Truchsess-Waldburg, "we made our entry into every place ; whilst the Emperor, fumigated with the incense of the tobacco-pipe, pressed himself into the corner of the carriage and pretended to be fast asleep. In the open road he renewed the conversation."

Passing in this manner through Aix, Saint Maximin, and other small towns, greeted everywhere, no matter how late the hour, with cries of "*A bas le tyran ! A bas Nicolas ! Vive Louis XVIII !*" but without the offer of any violence, they reached Luc in the afternoon. Here they found two squadrons of Austrian Hussars, whom Koller ordered to act as escort. All danger was now over.

To General Koller Napoleon afterwards observed : "I have shown you myself quite naked." Campbell says : "It was evident during his stay at Fontainebleau and the following journey, that he entertained great apprehensions of attacks upon his life, and he certainly exhibited more timidity than one would have expected from a man of his calibre."[1]

Napoleon had a great dread of the mob. He had seen the *canaille* at their terrible work in the streets of Paris during the Revolution. The prospect of being torn to pieces by enraged savages would appal the bravest soldier, but the reputation of Napoleon would stand higher if he had been able to show a little dignity and self-control. His refusal to touch the food which others were contentedly eating, the depths of cowardly collapse to which he sank, made a very bad im-

[1] Campbell, p. 200.

pression on all who were present. Would Cæsar or Charlemagne, with whom he had compared himself, have exhibited such poltroonery? Any common King, Louis XVI for example, would have put him to shame.

He had experienced terrible calamities, and was naturally enough prostrated. But when he had recovered, he saw what must have been the effect upon public opinion. He declared that the Prussian Commissioner's pamphlet describing these events, which was published in the spring of 1815, had done him more harm than any other publication ever issued against him. Indeed, there is reason to believe that the desire to recover his self-respect, by an exhibition of that personal courage which, at least amongst soldiers and in the early part of his career, he had certainly possessed, was not the least powerful of the motives that led him to return from Elba.

At Luc, at the Château de Bouilledou, Pauline was staying. Napoleon went at once to visit his favourite sister, who was horrified to see him in his strange uniforms, which he had not yet changed. Pauline was in poor health; though unable to travel with Napoleon she said she would join him at Elba. He stopped at the château for the night.

27th April.—Napoleon left Luc early, escorted by the Austrian Hussars, once more in his own carriage, and wearing his own clothes, and arrived at Fréjus at 10 a.m.

Meanwhile Campbell had reached Marseilles on the evening of the 25th, where he found H.M. frigate *Undaunted*, Captain Ussher. Campbell at once sent him his instructions, and the *Undaunted* sailed next morning for St. Tropez, where the French frigate *Dryade*, commanded by Comte de Montcabrie, awaited Napoleon's arrival. Campbell had already arrived at Fréjus, and had sent thence to St. Tropez informing Ussher that at Napoleon's request the place of embarkation had been changed to Fréjus. The British and French ships accordingly sailed for Fréjus, but Napoleon told de Montcabrie that he intended to travel on the British ship. The *Dryade* accordingly returned to Toulon.

Napoleon's disinclination for a voyage on a French ship carrying the Bourbon colours, is easy to understand; and even if Montcabrie had hauled down the white flag, as he said he was prepared to do, the Emperor would still have had grounds for considerable apprehension as to the courtesy of his reception, and even the safety of his person.

Napoleon invited the four Commissioners and Captain Ussher to dine with him at the inn. He was once more the Emperor. Koller says that his manner was now so Imperial that they almost imagined that they still had before them the ruler of Europe. Clam thought this arrogant tone was intended to drive away recollection of the scenes on the road.

28th April.—Captain Ussher, who was sleeping on shore, was awakened in the early morning by two of the inhabitants who begged him to get Napoleon away immediately, as they heard that the soldiers of the Army of Italy were entering France and declaring their devotion to the Emperor. It had been precisely in order to meet these enthusiastic adherents that Napoleon had at Fontainebleau endeavoured to obtain a change of route through Italy to Piombino. Ussher had no authority over Napoleon, he could merely threaten, as he did, that if the wind were to change, which the weather indications led him to expect within a few hours, he would have to put out to sea for the safety of the ship, leaving Napoleon on the inhospitable coast. Under this pressure the Emperor consented to embark that day, but begged a postponement until the evening on account of a sudden indisposition. He shrank from leaving France in the broad light of day.

Before embarking Napoleon wrote again to Marie Louise, and took the opportunity to remark that Pauline had expressed her determination to join him at Elba, when her health was restored. Bertrand wrote to Meneval expressing the hope that the Empress would divide her time between Parma and Elba.

Napoleon also wrote to the Emperor Francis :—

"My brother, and very dear father-in-law. I have received Your Majesty's letter. The desire of the Empress and of myself is to be reunited, above all at a time when fortune has been pleased to make us feel all its rigours. Your Majesty is of the opinion that the Empress requires to take the waters, and that immediately afterwards she will come to Italy. This is for me a pleasant prospect, and I count upon it. I have been pleased on the journey with General Koller and Major Clam. I recommend the excellent Empress and my son to Your Majesty. I beg Your Majesty to accept all the feelings of esteem and of high consideration that I entertain towards him.

"At Fréjus, 28th April, 1814.

"NAPOLEON."

He says now that he and the Empress wish to be together, but there is no actual request for the presence of his wife at Elba. He hopes "that she will come to Italy"—where perhaps they may meet.

In the evening Ussher came for him, and was with him in his room at the inn, when, a noise being heard outside, the Englishman remarked that a French mob was the worst of all mobs, to which Napoleon replied: "Yes, they are a fickle people. They are like a weathercock."

The doors were thrown open, and the Emperor passed down through a lane of people, some of the ladies in full dress, and all bowed respectfully. He went straight up to one of the prettiest of the ladies, asked her whether she was married, then how many children she had, and without waiting to hear the exact number, he hurried forward to his carriage, which went off at a great pace for the harbour of St. Raphael. It was upon the same shore that he had been rapturously welcomed as the saviour of France, on his return from Egypt in 1799.

NAPOLEON'S EMBARKATION AT ST. RAPHAEL FOR ELBA

From a contemporary German print

A bright moon shone on the assembled crowd, and upon the cavalry drawn up in line under the trees; it lighted up Napoleon's pale features, and glittered upon the beach, where were the British boats, with their officers and sailors, prepared to carry their guest safely across the sea to his island refuge.

CHAPTER V

THE FIRST VOYAGE ON A BRITISH WARSHIP

WHEN the barge of H.M.S. *Undaunted* had reached the ship, in the night of the 28th–29th April, Captain Ussher hastened up the side to receive Napoleon on the quarter-deck. As he stepped for the first time on a British warship he was given a royal salute of twenty-one guns ; he took off his hat, bowed to the officers who had been collected to receive him, and then went forward to the forecastle, where he remained for some time talking to the sailors, some of whom had been long enough on the station to pick up a little French.

There had been some discussion as to the salute. Campbell's instructions were that he was to conduct himself, "as far as circumstances will permit, with every proper respect and attention to Napoleon." He and Ussher had to decide for themselves what that meant. They carefully avoided, of course, all use of the term "Emperor." They also declined to uncover in the presence of Napoleon, but Campbell, at least, addressed him as "Sire," which was inconsistent. They attempted to avoid decision in the matter of the royal salute by informing Napoleon that "it was not customary to salute after sunset, in the hope," says Campbell, "that he would dispense with the compliment, but this he decidedly objected to, and desired General Drouot to say he would postpone the embarkation till the following morning, as, on account of the impression it would make on the inhabitants, he particularly wished to be received with a royal salute.

As it was very important that there should be no unnecessary delay in Napoleon's reaching his new sovereignty, I urged Captain Ussher strongly to waive on this occasion the usual etiquette; and in consequence Napoleon was persuaded to embark on the day originally fixed, and was received with the honours he so much valued."[1]

Lord Castlereagh recognised Napoleon's "sovereignty of the Island of Elba." Ussher and Campbell were therefore obliged to give the Sovereign a royal salute, which was repeated when Napoleon took possession of the island. These salutes were formal recognitions of his kingship, and to be consistent the British officers should have bared their heads. Doubtless they would have been instructed to do so if the Sovereign of Elba had made any complaint of discourtesy. It was supposed that the Congress of Vienna would deal with the subject and put an end to the anomalies of the situation.

Neil Campbell was the son of Neil Campbell of Duntroon, who belonged to a younger branch of the house of Argyll. He entered the army in 1797, and saw service in the West Indies as ensign of the 67th. Returning to England, he published a small book "Instructions for Light Infantry and Riflemen," which was for some time the standard work. From 1800 to 1810 he served with distinction in the West Indies again. In 1811 he was in the Peninsula as Colonel of the 16th Regiment of Portuguese Infantry, and took his regiment to the sieges of Ciudad Rodrigo, Badajos, and Burgos, and the battle of Salamanca.

In 1813 Colonel Campbell was placed on the staff of Lord Cathcart to accompany the Russian Army, and had as colleagues, whose duty it was to send Lord Cathcart reports as to the various corps, Colonel Sir Robert Wilson and Colonel Hudson Lowe.

On his way to join Lord Cathcart, Campbell had at Stockholm several interesting discussions with Bernadotte,

[1] Campbell, p. 199.

the Crown Prince of Sweden, and he was also received with favour by Madame de Staël. On the 5th April, 1813, he arrived at Kalisch, the headquarters of the Czar, where he met Colonel Hudson Lowe. At Dresden he was introduced to the Czar and the King of Prussia. Campbell was present, with Sir Robert Wilson, at the battles of Lützen and Bautzen. He wrote of the allied troops: "The Russians have the finest materials of men I have ever seen, but ignorant officers, a great want of arrangement, and much of the Eastern loose mode of baggage and followers. The Prussians are *perfect* in everything. They have made glorious efforts, and I trust they will not be deserted now, as they were at Tilsit."

Campbell was sent in August to join the Russian headquarters at the siege of Danzig, and remained on that tedious duty till the fall of the town at the end of November. He then went to Berlin, where he dined with the Princess of Orange, and spent an evening at the house of the Princess Louise, sister of the King of Prussia. "We sat round a large table and had tea, which was made by one of the ladies of the household, and handed about by one of the servants, just in the same *family* style as in England. After this a large dish of omelette was placed before the same lady, and a plate of it, with a spoon, was delivered to each. Then a dish with pudding was served out in the same way. No cloth was laid, and each held the plate, like a cup of tea, in the hand. The conversation went on with great spirit, for the Princess Louise is uncommonly clever and lively. The ladies were employed in picking lint from old linen for the wounded. This is a constant occupation in all families, and generally a requisition for a certain quantity, according to the number in the families, is made by the magistrates."

Campbell was attached to the allied forces on their march to Paris; at one time he was with the Russians, at another with the Prussians. Hudson Lowe was throughout with Blücher. Campbell also was with Blücher at Brienne, fought on the 29th January, 1814, and he was present in a number of

subsequent engagements until, on March 25th, at the battle of Fère Champenoise, he was nearly killed by Cossacks, who took him for a French officer. A lance was thrust into his back, and when on the ground he received a severe cut on the head, and would have been killed by a third attack but for the intervention of a Russian officer. There was little quarter given on either side in the campaign of 1814.

The wounds at first seemed dangerous, but Campbell was well enough to be able to move to Paris on the 9th April. On the 15th, although still in the opinion of the surgeon unfit to travel, he received and accepted the duty of accompanying Napoleon to Elba.

Campbell was summoned on his return from the island in 1815 to a private interview with the Prince Regent, who entirely exonerated him from all blame for Napoleon's escape.

In 1826 Campbell, now a Major-General, was appointed Governor of Sierra Leone, at that time deservedly known as "the white man's grave." He went with alacrity, declaring that the climate was as good as that of the West Indies, but he was dead in little more than a year, on the 14th August, 1827.

"The Times" said of him that he was a most intrepid and zealous officer, and a gentleman of kind and excellent heart, which is a good description of his character.

Thomas Ussher, born in Dublin in 1779, was the son of the Reverend Henry Ussher, a Senior Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, and the first Astronomer Royal of Ireland. He entered the navy as midshipman, at the age of twelve. In 1790, in a boat engagement, he was severely wounded and taken prisoner. He was afterwards in many fights, and always showed zeal and spirit. In 1808, as post-captain, he was entertained at a public dinner at Dublin and received the freedom of the city. In 1813–4 he was in command of the *Undaunted*, frigate, stationed off Toulon. In June, 1815, he was made a C.B.; in 1831 he was knighted. A Rear-Admiral

in 1846, he was Commander-in-Chief at Queenstown in 1847, and died in 1848.

One of the lieutenants on the *Undaunted* was William Sidney Smith, a nephew of Sir Sidney.

Another lieutenant, Hastings, has left a record of his impressions in a letter, some extracts from which are now published for the first time[1]:—

"This mighty enemy of England prefer'd trusting himself in the hands of those very people whom he had so often stigmatised as being destitute of Honor and Principle, to those over whom he had reigned, and so often led to victory and glory. . . . The road was lined with Hussars, and a Square was formed on the Beach around the boat. At ½ past 8 he embarked in the utmost silence, which was only interrupted by a trumpet march. The sea was peaceably calm, and the whole scene was truly impressive. Deserted by all his Generals but two as well as by the greater part of his Domesticks; and ever fearing for his own safety, He throws himself on board a Frigate belonging to that country, whose most deadly enmity he justly merited. There, he is received with all the Honors due to a Sovereign Prince which (to do him justice) He was fully alive to; as He observed, 'The English were indeed noble and generous Enemies.' It behoves me to say that the unbending fortitude with which he bears the reverse of circumstances does at least command respect, and could we divest ourselves of the Idea that the Murderer of a D'Enghien, a Wright, &c. &c. &c., stood before us, We might even rise into admiration. The same night we weighed and made sail. During a passage of six days, He assumed an affability which certainly did not appear natural to him. His height is 5 feet 5 inches, inclining to fatness which makes him appear inactive and unwieldy. His eyes are grey, extremely penetrating: the expression of his countenance by no means agreeable; and his manners far from dignified or graceful."

[1] From Mr. Broadley's collection of Napoleonic MSS.

The following persons were taken on the *Undaunted* with Napoleon :—

General Koller, Austrian Commissioner.
Major Clam, A.D.C.
Colonel Campbell, British Commissioner.
General Bertrand, Grand Marshal of the Palace.
General Drouot, A.D.C. to the Emperor.
Colonel Jersmanowski, in command of the Polish Lancers.
Chevalier Peyrusse, Treasurer of the Crown.
Chevalier Fourreau de Beauregard, physician.
Chevalier Deschamps, First Groom of the Bedchamber.
Chevalier Baillon, Second Groom of the Bedchamber.
Gatti, apothecary.
Colin, Controller of the Household.
Rathery, Secretary to the Grand Marshal.
There were twelve other officials and ten domestics.

Napoleon slept in the after-cabin, which was given up to him entirely. He took his coffee very early and was sometimes on deck by seven. Breakfast was served at ten and dinner at six. There were present at both meals with Napoleon, Koller, Campbell, Clam, Bertrand, Drouot, Ussher, and the officer of the watch.

Napoleon throughout the voyage was in good spirits, and his suite, who had never known him save as the monarch before whom all men grovelled, or, recently, as the terrified fugitive, were surprised at the cordiality of his manner. He suffered no inconvenience from the movement of the ship, and declared he had never been in better health.

The terrible load of ever-increasing anxiety was at last removed. Ever since the Moscow campaign his sufferings, the laceration of his sensitive pride, had been intense. The mortifying experiences of the journey through France were now succeeded by the repose and complete security on the British ship. He told Campbell that he had not felt safe until he stepped on to the deck of the *Undaunted*. If there was still some doubt as to the reception that awaited him at

Elba, he had the British Commissioner and the British ship to fall back upon. At the worst he would demand an asylum in England. Josephine at Malmaison was at this time telling the Duke of Northumberland that the English were the only people generous enough to speak respectfully of the fallen Emperor.

The relief on finding himself in safe hands was so great that it carried Napoleon to the verge of garrulity and indiscretion. He surprised everybody by his appetite for small talk, with excursions into loose gossip.

At table most of his conversation was with Campbell, who was directed to translate to Ussher what had been said, while the Emperor watched the two Englishmen with marked interest. He spoke much of his relations with England. He said that during the peace of Amiens he had proposed to Addington, the British Prime Minister, to enter into a treaty of commerce by which each country would have bound itself to take the same amount of goods from the other, so that if France bought so many millions worth of English goods, England would buy the same quantity of French goods. He also said that the Americans brought France their tobacco and cotton, and being paid for it in specie, then went to England and paid for English manufactures with the specie obtained from France. To prevent this injustice to France, he refused to admit American tobacco and cotton unless the Americans took from France an equivalent in French produce.

Napoleon's ignorance of the principles of commerce and of the relations between coin and commodities was profound. If, instead of poring over Plutarch's "Lives," Rollin's "Ancient History," Marigny's "History of the Arabs," and such romantic tales, his youthful reading had been Smith's "Wealth of Nations," he might have avoided some of the mistakes in commercial policy which proved so disastrous.

Napoleon also said that he still believed the greater part of France to be in his favour, and that the Bourbons would make themselves intolerable in six months; and he allowed

it to be seen that he had not abandoned the hope of a return to power some day. Campbell thought he revealed more than he intended of his expectations.

He was speaking to Major Clam one day of the life he intended to live at Elba, how he would renew his mathematical studies, and so on: "You know I am exceptional in this, that I am fitted for an active and a sedentary life." "That," said Clam, "is because Your Majesty has a great deal of imagination." "Yes, indeed," replied Napoleon, "I sometimes have far too much."

The voyage at first was rough, with strong head winds and a heavy sea. Shelter was sought off Calvi, on the coast of Corsica. It was from that port that Letizia Bonaparte and her children had sailed for France on the 11th June, 1793. Being of the French party, owing to the children having been sent to France for their education, the family was driven out of their native home when Paoli and Corsica broke away from the French Revolution.

During the bad weather Napoleon was constantly on deck, while his suite were unable to leave their cabins. On one occasion when the ship was near the coast he proposed to Koller a walk on the shore to stretch their legs. Koller declined, whispering to Ussher that he knew him too well to trust him on such a trip. While not exactly a prisoner, Napoleon was under surveillance, in charge of the Austrian and English conductors, who were determined not to let him out of their sight. Nor had he freedom as to his communications, for when they met H.M.S. *Berwick* with frigates and transports bound for Ajaccio, his correspondence was taken ashore in the form of open letters, and only after he had given a solemn assurance that they did not refer to public affairs but were of a strictly private nature.

Napoleon was most anxious for news, and a small Genoese ship being met, her captain was brought on deck, and sent to converse with him. At the conclusion of their conversation the Italian sailor, who believed he had been speaking to the

captain of the man-of-war, said to Ussher, "Your captain is the most extraordinary man I ever met; he put all sorts of questions to me, and without giving me time to reply repeated the same questions to me rapidly a second time." When Napoleon was told of the complaint of his repeating questions, he said that it was the only way to get at the truth from such fellows. But the Emperor had acquired the habit, as part of his Imperial equipment, of asking questions of the greatest men of the day, without waiting for the reply. In the determination to be royal, he had lost touch not only with "these fellows," but with mankind itself.

On another occasion, when they met a fishing-boat which would not come alongside, Napoleon proposed that it should be fired upon to compel it to approach, whereupon Ussher remarked that such action would denationalise the boat, according to the Milan decree; at which Napoleon laughed and pinched his ear, saying: "Ah, Capitaine!" Koller said to Campbell, aside, that he was so much accustomed to seize that he could not yet abandon his old tricks.

When they were off the Italian coast, the weather being clear, they had a fine view of the mountains. Standing on the deck and leaning on Ussher's arm, Napoleon gazed at them steadily for a long time. Ussher at length reminded him that he had passed those mountains once before under very different circumstances, alluding to the first Italian campaign, in 1796, to which Napoleon replied that it was very true.

During the voyage he was very inquisitive on all matters connected with the navigation and management of a ship. He asked numerous questions and occasionally showed that he had somehow acquired certain scraps of knowledge on the subject; he explained, for instance, to Koller, "and that very well," says Ussher, "a very nice point of seamanship, viz. that of keeping a ship clear of her anchor in a tideway."

He spoke of his plans for enabling France to rival England

at sea. He had caused the Elbe to be carefully sounded and found that great naval establishments could have been made near Hamburg, and wood easily obtained from Poland. He said that Antwerp was necessary for France, and that he never would consent to give it up, especially as he had sworn at his coronation not to allow France to be diminished. He said that he had intended to build as many as three hundred sail of the line.

On the 3rd May they passed Capraia, and shaped their course directly for Elba, in a light air with full sail. Napoleon was so impatient that he asked Ussher whether if he were chasing an enemy he would set more sail, and Ussher remarking, after examination, that the starboard top-gallant stunsail was not carried, Napoleon begged him to have it set at once, which was accordingly done. As soon as land was in sight he went forward to the forecastle, whence he examined it with his glass. When the batteries gradually came in view, he was most anxious to discern what colours were flying. At length the white flag with the lily of the Bourbons was revealed. It had replaced the tricolour only two days before. If the *Undaunted* had not been delayed on her passage by bad weather, she would have arrived while the island was still Imperial. Ussher considered that in that case he would have been obliged to take Napoleon to the British Naval Commander-in-Chief, Sir Edward Pellew, at Genoa, "who would, no doubt, have ordered us to England." The history of the world might have been changed.

The mind of Napoleon ran often on dates and anniversaries. He remarked that it was on the 3rd May, 1789, exactly a quarter of a century back, that the great procession of the States General took place. While he was speaking Louis XVIII was riding in a carriage drawn by eight cream-coloured horses, in another procession, into the city of Paris.

CHAPTER VI

THE NEW KINGDOM

BETWEEN Corsica and Italy, in the Tuscan Archipelago, there lie, in a north and south direction, a number of small islands. On clear days they are all of them visible both from Corsica and from Italy.

The furthest north is Gorgona, off Leghorn. When Napoleon was a lieutenant in an artillery regiment at Auxonne he employed some of his spare time in taking notes on the books he was reading, and occasionally wrote an original short story. In one of these he imagines an Englishman wrecked at Gorgona, where he comes across a Corsican who had chosen that island as a retreat from the tyranny of the French, who had conquered Corsica. Napoleon made his compatriot speak of the French as having the reputation of being "the enemies of free men," while the shipwrecked visitor was "one of those virtuous Englishmen who still protect our fugitive citizens"—an allusion to the sojourn of Paoli, the Corsican patriot, in England, where he was in receipt of a pension from the Government. Gorgona Napoleon described as "an escarped rock which may have a circumference of half a league." "There are few situations," wrote the youth of nineteen, "so picturesque as the position of this island, separated from any land by immense arms of sea, bordered by rocks, against which the waves dash with fury. It is sometimes the refuge of the pale sailor against the tempest, but more often Gorgona is for them merely the reef where many ships have often been wrecked."

This passage can only have been written by one who had sailed near the island, and so confirms the statements of both Joseph and Napoleon that when they were taken to school their father travelled by way of Leghorn. In that case Napoleon's recollection must date from the age of nine.

South of Gorgona is Capraia, a wild-looking, hilly island, as its name implies, the natural home of goats; it is larger than Gorgona, and has not so desolate an appearance. Both islands maintain a small colony of fishermen, whose picturesque boats add to the strange semi-barbarian romance of these waters. To pass one of these vessels at the time when the fishermen are hauling in their trawl, hurrying forward and back along the small boat to take their turn at the line, singing together the while, the music passing over the sea till it gradually fades as the boat sails away, is an experience that lingers in the memory.

The next island is Elba, a striking and effective mass of mountains.

Further south is Pianosa, which strangely enough is quite flat, for all the other islands and islets appear to have been thrust up from the sea by a violent upheaval. Pianosa was uncultivated at the time of Napoleon, but is now covered with olive trees.

Still further south Monte Cristo, a barren rock, rises like a pyramid straight from the sea to a height of 2000 feet. There can be little doubt that it was Dumas' visit to Elba in search of Napoleonic memories, that gave him not only the name, but much of the conception of his story. The iron mines of Elba with their inexhaustible wealth, the illustrious prisoner, the weird romance of these islands, which had made such an impression on the youthful Napoleon, all contributed towards the creation of the famous tale.

Elba, the largest of these islands, is only sixteen miles in greatest length, ten miles in greatest breadth, and some sixty in circumference—about the size of Malta.

Elba is also the nearest to Italy, the strait which separates

it from Piombino being not more than six miles across. This narrow *Canale di Piombino* is, however, a conduit for strong winds, and, being strewn with rocks and islets—Cerboli and Palmajola are large enough to have had towers of defence erected upon them—the passage was, in the time of Napoleon, dangerous at night and not without risk in the daytime. Even now the small steamer which does the trip twice a day is often obliged by the heavy sea to make for Porto Vecchio, where the landing is not so difficult as at Piombino. Communication with the shore is made by means of rowboats, which toss about wildly and threaten at any moment to be swamped. The crossing takes only half an hour from shore to shore, but it is very trying to all except the most hardened sailors. When the shelter under the Elban hills has been reached the remainder of the voyage of some forty minutes is less disagreeable. Elba will never be a popular resort until the terrors of the Canale have been mitigated by an improved harbour at Piombino and a larger steamer is employed. It is said that Paul Demidoff sold the Napoleonic Museum at San Martino, which he had inherited from his uncle, because, having arrived at Piombino, he had not the courage to venture upon the tempestuous waters, and could take no interest in a property he would never be able to visit.

A hundred years ago the uncertainty of the passage made Leghorn the usual port of embarkation for visitors from the north, and Civita Vecchia for those coming from Rome and Naples. Many, even now, prefer the four hours from Leghorn to the discomforts of Piombino.

Seen from the approach by sea, Elba is striking and romantic, the mountains seeming to rise as towering columns from the ocean. Considering the small base upon which they rest, they attain a considerable height. Monte Capanne, though not more than three miles distant in any direction from the sea, rises to a height of 3300 feet; the summit of Monte Giove, 2800 feet, and Monte alla Quata, 2500 feet, are only one and two miles respectively from the sea. The

island is covered with precipitous hills, containing granite and a fine white marble on the west, and valuable serpentine on the east ; and a large variety of ferruginous minerals is found. Monte Calamita, as its name implies, produces loadstone, asbestos, and other minerals. Some of the hills bear a scrubby growth, not unlike the maquis of Corsica, consisting of myrtle, box, tamarisk, and other odoriferous plants, while others are barren and rocky, their savage wildness contrasting with the valleys at their base, where the vine is cultivated from which an excellent wine is made. In the time of Napoleon the Elba vermouth and the aleatica wine were favourably known. But the Elban does not take advantage of such spaces of flat land as may be suitable for crops of grain. The island is still, as in the time of Napoleon, dependent on imports for its bread.

The climate is most agreeable, the heat of the summer being tempered by sea breezes ; but the salt marshes, which have now been abolished, used to be unhealthy spots, and there was malaria on the coast.

The animals found on the island have a tendency to be black, like those of Corsica, and the small game, chiefly quail, partridge, and pigeon, has an excellent flavour and fragrant odour, which is also the case in Corsica.

The Elbans are a milder race than the terrible native of the larger, more secluded, and wilder island. They are fishermen and miners, agriculture and even the care of pastures being comparatively neglected. There are few cows, and milk is not always easy to obtain. Most of the vegetable supplies are imported from Italy. The Elban is an agreeable, soft-spoken man, but like the Corsican, he is not a hard worker. The quarrels and jealousies of families are bitter, but without the Corsican ferocity.

The most valuable fish caught off the coast of Elba is the tunny, a large fish of the mackerel family, which attains a maximum length of nine feet and weight of 900 pounds, the average being about half that size. The tunnies come to the

shore from May onwards, for the purpose of spawning, and are driven into nets stretched to a great length near the shore. The fish exhaust and stun themselves by their mad leaps against each other or against the side of the boat or barge to which the net is drawn, and are then easily captured, but to lift such heavy fish into the barge single-handed requires great strength. A clear sky and smooth sea are desirable to reveal the movements of the fish. Napoleon, on the 27th June, 1814, went with a large suite to witness the drawing-in of the nets. He harpooned a fish and tried to land it, but had selected too large a one, which he found he was unable to lift into the boat.

The chief fisheries were in the Gulf of Procchio, at Marciana. As much as 20,000 pounds weight would be taken in one day. The flesh when properly cooked has an agreeable flavour, though it is rather rich. It is preserved in oil or salt and exported. It was known as *saltamentum sardicum* to the Romans.

The iron mines of Elba have been famous from the earliest times. Virgil has a line, "Insula inexhaustis chalybum generosa metallis."[1] The Romans thought the mines were inexhaustible, and supposed that the ore was soon reproduced after being dug. The marks of the Roman tools were, in the time of Napoleon, still visible on the rocks. It is said now that the mines may be worked out in thirty years. They are on the east of the island, served by the hill town of Rio Alto, which had 1800 inhabitants in the time of Napoleon, and by a coast town of smaller size, Rio Marina.

There are several examples of this naming of two villages by the name of coast and mountain, as Marciana Alta and Marciana Marina, Campo and Campo Marina. Each has its permanent residents, but the bulk of the population migrates from the Marina in the summer to escape the coast malaria, and returns in the winter. A similar custom prevails in Corsica; in the summer the whole population leaves the

[1] Æneid, Book X, p. 174.

PORTOFERRAIO

From a German satirical print of 1814

fever-stricken east coast for the fresh air of the mountains. The village on the hill was also a refuge when pirates had landed on the coast. Only within quite recent years have Elbans and Corsicans learned to forget their fear of pirates.

In the time of Napoleon the iron ore was sent to the Continent to be smelted. Four hundred men and a hundred horses or oxen were at work on the mines. The men formed a class of their own, with fixed wages and permanent employment and pensions for their widows, and as a consequence they did as little work as possible.

Of the salt marshes the most important were in the Bay of Portoferraio. Sea-water was run into pits and left to be dried by the sun, when the salt remained. The ill-health produced by these insalubrious spots caused a greater loss to the island than the salt was worth, but it was a Government monopoly.

Portoferraio, the capital, is beautifully situated on a narrow promontory which juts out well into the sea, from west to east, and has an arm projecting at right angles southwards from the eastern end. The whole of this promontory is sheltered by the Elban hills in every direction except the north; and thus the natural harbour on its southern side is completely protected. In the sailing days a gale from the north or north-west would drive a vessel on to the beach if it was not well handled, before the turn could be made into the inner harbour. In all other weather the large and deep bay provided perfect shelter for a large fleet, and with the inner harbour furnished one of the most comfortable and commodious havens in the whole of the Mediterranean.

It was also very strong against attack. On the east the entrance to the bay was defended by Fort Stella, and by a continuous range of batteries on the arm projecting south, known as the Linguella. At the end of the Linguella, protecting the entrance to the inner harbour, was an octagonal tower of the Martello design. It is now shown to visitors as the

dungeon in which a would-be regicide was immured—Passananante, who tried to kill King Humbert.

On the western height is Fort Falcone, which has at its base a big ditch, cutting off the fort and whole town from the rest of the island. A drawbridge over the ditch provided the only access to the town from the land, and the fort itself was further guarded by a gate opening on to a tunnel about a hundred yards long, cut in the rock. Napoleon had to pass in his carriage through this before he could reach the country, unless he made a long detour to the Water Gate and along the quay.

The landing-stage, to which vessels of moderate size are moored, is in the centre of the harbour, opposite the Water Gate. Above it the town rises in tier above tier. Inside the gate is the Piazza Cavour, which is merely a broad street, the only one in the town; the other connections are by stone stairways, which remind one of Valetta, Malta. Beyond the Piazza Cavour is the square which was known in the time of Napoleon as the Piazza d'Armi, or Place d'Armes, where his soldiers were drilled every day. It is now laid out as a garden and would be occupied by nursemaids and perambulators if the Elbans could afford such luxuries. A band plays there sometimes.

On one side of the square is the parish church, known as the cathedral, to which Napoleon was escorted on his formal entry into the town; on the other side is the Palazzo Comundale, or town hall, where he endeavoured to find a refuge from the gaping crowd. There are six tablets with inscriptions on the front of the town hall, commemorating: 1, The vote of the 15th March, 1860, by which Tuscany became a part of united Italy; 2, Guerrazzi, a poet of the Risorgimento; 3, Victor Emmanuel; 4, Garibaldi; 5, Victor Hugo, who spent part of his childhood at Portoferraio; 6, Mazzini. The connection of Napoleon with the town is not recorded, but there is a prominent tablet to the memory of the anarchist Ferrero, in the Piazza Cavour. A curious memento of the

Emperor is to be found in the church of the Misericordia, in the shape of a large ebony coffin, in which is placed a bronze copy of the mask of Napoleon taken after death at St. Helena. The coffin and mask were presented to the church by Prince Anatole Demidoff, together with an endowment of funds to pay for an annual funeral service on the 5th May, the day of the Emperor's death. All the notabilities of the island attend the service, from the sub-prefect downwards, and usually a torpedo-boat or other war-vessel comes into the harbour for the naval officers to be present.

The population of Portoferraio was about three thousand in the time of Napoleon, and it remained at about that figure until the end of the nineteenth century. Tall chimneys and furnaces for the extraction of the ore have now been erected, and a new suburb has arisen to accommodate the workmen. From most points the ugly buildings and the black smoke destroy the beauties of the town and sea. Portoferraio is now best seen from the south-west of the bay, with a blinker on the left eye. The chimneys obtrude upon the visitor from every other quarter, and are the first things seen when approaching by water.

Porto Longone, the second town of the island, is on the south-east. Above the small town there was a strong citadel, but the principal fortifications were blown up by order of Napoleon, to save expense and concentrate his forces at Portoferraio. The place is now used as a prison for Italian malefactors.

Of the other towns or villages the best known is Capoliveri, said to have derived its name from Caput Liberum, a city which was a legal refuge for debtors and other delinquents. The inhabitants were noted for their independent spirit. On more than one occasion they successfully resisted foreign invaders, when the rest of the island was being subjected. They still have a character for turbulence.

Elba is quite out of the way of tourists and is seldom visited by foreigners. An occasional hero-worshipper may make the

journey, but it is not customary for writers to describe this home of Napoleon from personal knowledge. The island is romantic and picturesque, and at a distance from the smelting furnaces of Portoferraio there is a peaceful stillness in the life which has its charm.

Every small island lying in frequented waters becomes the prey of various conquerors in turn, and Elba was no exception. It was a Roman colony at an early date. After the fall of Rome the island had the usual succession of barbarian conquerors. Civilisation returned when in the eleventh century Pisa became mistress of Elba and Corsica, much to the advantage of both islands. After the defeat of Pisa by Genoa at the naval battle of Meloria in 1284, both islands were ceded to Genoa, but Elba was soon afterwards bought back by Pisa, while unhappy Corsica was left to the harsh Genoese rule.

In the beginning of the fifteenth century Elba, Pianosa, and Monte Cristo belonged to the Principality of Piombino. The island was captured and its inhabitants carried off as slaves by the famous corsair, Barbarossa, in 1534, and when it had been to some extent repeopled it was again devastated by Barbarossa ten years later. In 1548 Cosimo de Medici, Duke of Florence, founded the city of Portoferraio, after whom it was given the name of Cosmopoli. Napoleon at one time proposed to return to that name, when he was talking of his scheme for making the town a cosmopolitan home for all the talents of all the nations. The fortifications he found in existence had not been much changed since their erection. Thanks to these works Portoferraio successfully beat off the raid of another corsair, Dragut of Tripoli, in 1552, but the remainder of the island fell into the pirate's hands. Dragut repeated the capture and spoliation a few years later.

Elba still remained, with the exception of Portoferraio, part of the dominions of the Prince of Piombino, and though the Florentine influence spread from the only town which was safe from pirates, over the mines and much of the island,

it did not grow strong enough to obtain a formal cession of territory. That was obtained by the Spaniards. In 1603 the fortress of Longone was built by Santa Cruz, sent for that purpose by the Spanish Viceroy of Naples. The island was then under the three jurisdictions of Florence, Naples, and Piombino. When the French revolution broke out this division was still in force. Portoferraio belonged to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, Porto Longone to Spain, the remainder of the island to Piombino.

Then came to Portoferraio, in January, 1794, several thousand French refugees from Toulon, brought by the British fleet, and on the 9th July, 1796, British troops were sent to occupy the town. They erected a battery in support of Falcone Fort, known as Forte Inglese. Soon, however, in consequence of General Bonaparte's victories in Italy in 1796–7, it was decided to evacuate Corsica and Elba, and the British troops left the latter island on the 28th April, 1797.

A period of anarchy ensued. With the changes in progress on the Continent, it was not always easy to say to whom the Island of Elba belonged. By the Treaty of Amiens it became French; it was occupied by French troops and formally annexed to France, and the syndics of the various communes swore fealty to the French Republic. On the 12th January, 1803, a Commissary General was established at Portoferraio, with administration over Elba, Capraia, Palmajola, Pianosa, and Monte Cristo. The fortifications were improved, and two battalions of local troops were raised.

In March, 1805, the Emperor Napoleon gave this archipelago of islands to his sister Élise, with the principality of Piombino. Élise became Grand Duchess of Tuscany in 1809. In 1814 Elba was blockaded by a British fleet. Then rumours arrived of the fall of Napoleon. On the 21st April the garrison of Porto Longone, amongst whom were many Italians, killed their commander and made for Rio, where they seized a vessel and sailed for the Continent. On the same day

Napoleon was burned in effigy at Marciana. Rio also was in revolt.

On the 27th General Montresor, the English Commander, sent to General Dalesme, the French Commandant of the island, the news of the fall of Napoleon and restoration of the Bourbons, and a summons to surrender, which was ignored; but on the next day an envoy arrived from the Provisional Government announcing the abdication of Napoleon and his imminent arrival to take possession of the island. Dalesme hoisted the Bourbon flag and waited for the further instructions which he shortly after received from Dupont, Minister of War, to deliver the island to "Napoleon Bonaparte, heretofore Emperor of the French."

PORTOFERRAIO FROM THE SEA

From a print of 1814

CHAPTER VII

THE RECEPTION AT PORTOFERRAIO

IN the afternoon of May 3rd, 1814, H.M. frigate *Undaunted* lay to off Portoferraio. To notify the arrival of Napoleon and ascertain what kind of a reception might be expected, a boat left under the charge of Lieutenant Hastings, carrying General Drouot, Colonel Campbell, Captain Clam, and Lieutenant Smith. Drouot delivered to Dalesme a letter from Napoleon announcing that he had chosen Elba for his future abode.

The letter was printed and placarded about the town while a deputation returned to the *Undaunted* in the ship's boat to announce the grateful submission of the authorities. The party comprised General Dalesme, the sub-prefect, the Commander of the Elba National Guard, and Pons de l'Hérault, the administrator of the mines at Rio.

André Pons, born at Cette in 1772, was the son of a small innkeeper. He went to sea, and at an early age obtained the command of a merchant ship; then he entered the French Navy. In 1793 he volunteered for the army and became a captain of artillery. In that capacity he served at the siege of Toulon, where he made the acquaintance of Napoleon. After the siege Napoleon was on one occasion the guest of Pons at Bandol, where he arrived in the course of his inspection of the coast defences, bringing with him Louis and the war commissioner, Boinod. Napoleon, Pons, and Boinod were afterwards to spend much time together at Elba. Pons gave his guests a dish of the famous *bouillabaisse* of

Provence, which Boinod told Pons he had not forgotten, and Louis remembered even in his old age. Pons had a varied career. In 1809 he obtained the post of administrator of the Rio mines; he afterwards became in turn a Prefect of the Empire and of the Monarchy of July, and finally a Councillor of State in the Second Republic. He lived to see the Second Empire, and died in 1858.[1]

Pons was a republican from the first days of the Revolution, and developed into an ardent Jacobin and Robespierrist. He had not changed his opinions. He was still an opponent of the Empire, but he had become at the same time a fervid admirer of the Emperor. Though most of his time was spent at Rio, Pons was often in Portoferraio, and saw a good deal of Napoleon. He made a careful study of the great man, who engaged him to write an account of the Elban sojourn, and read a few of the first pages. In June, 1815, in his last interview with the Emperor, Pons was again urged to carry out the work, and Napoleon mentioned to him several things he should not forget to chronicle. Pons asserted that it was only at Elba that Napoleon could be properly examined and comprehended. As Emperor he was placed too high to be visible to ordinary mortals. At St. Helena he was posing for posterity. There is much to be said for that opinion.

Pons had frequent discussions about the character of Napoleon with his two chief friends, Drouot and Peyrusse. But, though he cogitated much, and took some notes, he did not set to work seriously till long afterwards, and at his death in 1858 the result of his labours had not been published. It was not till the end of the nineteenth century that his most important material was issued in a connected form, by L. G. Pélissier, in two works, "Souvenirs et Anecdotes de l'Île d'Elbe" (1897), and "Mémoire aux Puissances Alliés" (1899).

Pons writes sometimes of his hero in terms suitable only to the Messiah. "The Emperor saw the quarries; he

[1] Pons, "Souvenirs et Anecdotes," edited by L. G. Pélissier, p. x.

"NAP DREADING HIS DOLEFUL DOOM, OR HIS GRAND ENTRY IN THE ISLE OF ELBA"

From an English caricature of April, 1814

spoke: 'Let the quarries be exploited,' and they were exploited." And again: "The Emperor's glance passed in the direction of the salt works and the salt works were vivified." And Pons was deficient in humour. He records without a smile the sublime remark of Napoleon, intended to support his dictum that "the French heart is human perfection," that "the French Army has left in foreign countries thousands of souvenirs of affection which will never be effaced."

But if Pons became sometimes, like many others, spell-bound in the presence of Napoleon, he differs from other writers of contemporary memoirs in that he had no career to exaggerate, no reputation to defend, and no grudge to satisfy. The personal factor, which distorts every man's vision, was thus reduced to comparative insignificance. And he approached the study from the best standpoint, that of the republican admirer. He admired the First Consul, disapproved of the Emperor, and was fascinated by the Genius. That is precisely the modern standpoint. Pons must be taken, then, with a friendly smile here and there, as one of the most independent-minded, honest, careful, and generally reliable of all those who have described their impressions of Napoleon. He had an exceptional opportunity, and a proper spirit, and his conclusions deserve attention.

Pons has left an account of the reception by Napoleon of the Elban worthies, and of the emotions they experienced in being presented to the greatest man in the world. After explaining how strong was still his hostility to the Napoleonic Empire, he proceeds:—

"And I was going to appear before the hero who had voluntarily laid down his halo of glory! I was going to appear before the extraordinary man whom I had so often blamed and at the same time admired, and for whom, also, I had so often prayed during his holy struggle on the sacred soil! I was about to present myself to Napoleon, to the Emperor Napoleon, upon an English frigate! It all seemed to me a

dream, a painful dream, a frightful dream. My heart was fit to burst, my spirits were dejected, my mind was distracted, a general trembling took from me the free exercise of my faculties, and I felt as if I should swoon. I forgot the deceptions of the Empire, I had become almost Imperial. Misfortune impressed upon me a sense of reverence for the most illustrious of its victims. We went on board the English frigate. The Emperor Napoleon was announced. The Emperor showed himself at the door of his cabin. Our emotions were profound. Instinctively we leaned upon each other, and became as in a condition of enchantment. Our attitude was purely contemplative. The Emperor stopped for a moment, he seemed inclined to examine us; we made a movement to go towards him, he came to us. General Koller and Colonel Campbell were extremely respectful.

"The Emperor was wearing the green uniform of the chasseurs of the Imperial Guard. The star of the Legion of Honour, fastened to the buttonhole, was that of a simple chevalier, and he was not wearing the iron crown. He had been dressed with care, his appearance was that of a soldier prepared for a reception. His manner was calm, his eyes were bright, his expression seemed full of benevolence, and a dignified smile adorned his lips. His arms were crossed behind his back. We thought he had come without a hat, but when he turned towards us, we saw that he held in his right hand a small round sailor's hat, at which we were astonished.

"General Dalesme faltered out to the Emperor some words of respect and affection. We also, we tried to stammer out some words, we had the persuasive eloquence of emotion. The Emperor understood it all; he replied to us with paternal kindness, as if he had heard all that we were unable to say to him. He seemed to have meditated his reply; it even seemed that his words must have been prepared, they were so clear and precise.

"The Emperor related rapidly the recent misfortunes of

France. He spoke as if he had not himself been the pivot of all these great events. His sentiments betokened a burning patriotism. He expressed the intention of consecrating himself henceforth to the welfare of the Elbans. Then he told us that he would not enter Portoferraio until the new flag that he was going to adopt was waving there. He desired the municipality to give him ideas on the point. Before dismissing us, he spoke privately for a moment to General Dalesme, then he addressed a few words to each one of us, and I obtained the smallest share, for he merely asked me what were my duties. We retired. The orderly officer reconducted us to the place of embarkation."

When a red republican could be so moved by the presence of Napoleon there was no need for anxiety as to the reception awaiting him in the island. The inhabitants of Portoferraio were in a state of ecstasy at the good news, for not only was Elba to share in Napoleon's immortality, but the presence of the Emperor and his followers, with the distinguished visitors who would be attracted to the island, would bring wealth to them all. Every house was illuminated with candles on the window-sills, while the almost incredible event was discussed amidst an excitement that kept the town awake half the night. The officials had scarcely any rest. They had to find a suitable house for Napoleon and make the necessary alterations for a formal reception. Dalesme offered the Commandant's house, but the *Hôtel de Ville* was more central and was decided upon. The furniture had to be removed, and more suitable articles searched for and placed in their new positions. The National Guard had to be summoned for the morrow's ceremony, also the French garrison; and the religious preparations had to be made. The lists of those who should have the honour of presentation had to be made up, and as Bertrand had written that it was "essential that a large concourse of persons should be present to receive the Emperor," couriers had to be sent in all haste to the neighbouring communes to collect as many

as possible, especially the Mayors and their chief assistants. All this had to be done in the night, and, as Pons complains, "the hours were passing away with giant strides."

The printers were busy with the necessary proclamations, which they contrived to get out in the early morning. The Commandant issued the following manifesto, in which he made known the terms of Napoleon's declaration :—

"Inhabitants of the Island of Elba,

"The vicissitudes of human affairs have brought into the midst of you the Emperor Napoleon, and by his choice he is given to you as your Sovereign. Before entering inside your walls your new and august monarch has addressed to me the following words, which I hasten to make known to you, as they are the guarantee of your future happiness :—

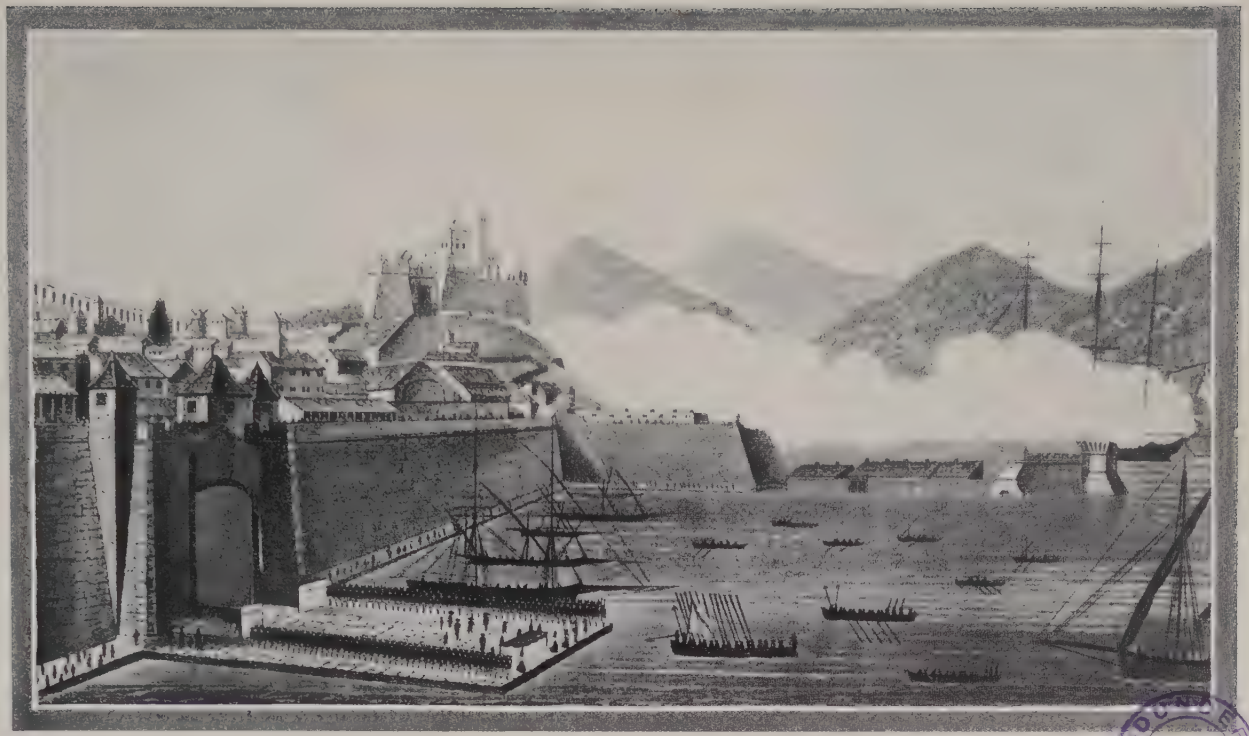
"'General, I have sacrificed my rights to the interests of the country, and have reserved for myself the Sovereignty and the property of the Island of Elba, to which all the Powers have consented. Make known this new state of things to the inhabitants, and the choice I have made of their island for my residence, on account of the mildness of their manners and of their climate. Tell them that they will be the constant object of my most active concern.'

"Elbans, these words require no comment; they determine your future. The Emperor has judged you correctly. I owe you this justice, and I render it to you.

"Inhabitants of the island of Elba, I am about to leave you. The parting will be painful to me, for I love you sincerely, but the thought of your good fortune sweetens the bitterness of my departure; and in whatever place I may be, I shall always be close to this island in the recollection of the virtues of its inhabitants, and in the good wishes I shall have on their behalf.

"Portoferraio, 4 May, 1814.

"The General of Brigade, DALESME."



NAPOLEON'S LANDING IN ELBA, 4 MAY, 1814

From a contemporary German print

CENTRAL

Pons remarks that the placards were still on the walls in which Dalesme accused the Elbans of being savages, armed for the purpose of pillage ; and with regard to the attempt to impose upon Napoleon with a crowd gathered from all parts, he observes that the Emperor knew quite well the size of the town, and the kind of collection it would normally produce.

The Vicar-General Arrighi, a cousin of Napoleon's, issued the following ecstatic charge to his flock :—

" To our well beloved in the Lord, our brothers of the clergy, and to all the faithful on the island, salutation and benediction.

" Divine Providence which, in its strength and benevolence, disposes all things and assigns to peoples their destiny, has decided that amidst the changing politics of Europe we should in future be the subjects of Napoleon the Great.

" The island of Elba, already celebrated for its natural productions, becomes to-day still more illustrious in the history of nations ; for the homage it tenders to its new Prince of immortal glory. The island of Elba enters among the ranks of nations, and its small area becomes ennobled through the name of its Sovereign.

" Raised to so sublime an honour it welcomes to its bosom the *Anointed of the Lord* and the other distinguished persons who surround him. When H.M. the Emperor and King made the choice of this island for his retreat, he announced to the world his predilection.

" Wealth will pour into the land, and from all parts people will hasten to our shores to contemplate a hero.

" Before he put a foot upon this shore he announced our destiny and our happiness : ' *I shall be a good Father,*' he said, ' *be my good children.*'

" Most loved and faithful ones, what tender words ! What benevolent expressions ! What hopes we may entertain of our future felicity ! May these words rest with delight in your

thoughts, and impress themselves with transports of consolation in your hearts. May fathers repeat them to their children, and so perpetuate from generation to generation the memory of these words which assure the glory and prosperity of the Island of Elba.

"Fortunate inhabitants of Portoferraio, the sacred person of H.M. the Emperor and King will be within your walls. Renowned as you always have been for the sweetness of your character and your affection for your Princes, *Napoleon the Great* already appreciates you; never destroy the favourable opinion he has formed of you.

"And you all, faithful in Jesus Christ, be worthy of your fortune; *non sint schismata inter vos, idem sapite, pacem habete, et Deus pacis et dilectionis erit vobiscum.*

"May faithfulness, gratitude, submission, reign in your hearts! Join all in the respectful sentiments of love for your Prince, who is more your father than your Sovereign, and exult with holy joy in the bounty of the Lord, who has reserved for you this auspicious event for all eternity.

"With that intention we order that on Sunday next in all the churches a solemn Te Deum shall be sung, as token of thanks to the Almighty, for the precious gift he has accorded us in the abundance of his mercy.

"Giuseppe Filippo Arrighi,

"Vicar-General."[1]

On the important day, May 4th, Napoleon, who was as eager to examine his new domain as the inhabitants were to gaze at him, arose at daylight and went on deck, where he had a long conversation with the harbourmaster about the anchorage, fortifications, etc. At half-past six the *Undaunted* moved into the harbour and anchored. The ship was at once surrounded by small craft carrying excited spectators, some singing to the accompaniment of their guitars, others

[1] The Italian text is in Livi, "Napoleone all' isola d' Elba," p. 258.

playing the flute or banging upon the tambourine, while the remainder cheered and raised their hats on their oars.

Several of the chief inhabitants asked for audiences. Napoleon received Colonel Vincent, commanding the Engineers, the President of the Tribunal, and the Vicar-General Arrighi—representatives of the army, the law, and the Church.

He was impatient to get ashore, but did not wish to be recognised before the official reception. At 8 a.m. he covered himself with a great-coat and embarked in one of the boats of the *Undaunted,* accompanied by Ussher, Campbell, Bertrand, and Vincent. When half-way across the harbour he remarked that he was without a sword, and asked whether the Elbans were addicted to assassination. "Evidently," says Campbell, "he is greatly afraid of falling in this way." They went to examine a house which had looked well from the ship, and wandered about for a couple of hours. A peasant alarmed Napoleon by suddenly shouting: "*Viva il Re d'Inghilterra!*" It appears that Ussher, after the fashion of sailors, had insisted upon mounting the bare back of one of the small horses of the island, and although he clung to the horse's mane, he was soon deposited upon the earth. He gave the boy who had brought the pony a guinea, to which the lad responded by cheering the King of England, believing that only a King carried guineas, and that His Majesty King George was before him.

They returned on board for breakfast. A book was produced containing illustrations of Elban and Tuscan flags, from which Napoleon selected one that had been used in the time of Cosimo de Medici. It was white with a red diagonal stripe, upon which Napoleon placed three of his bees in gold. He said it would thus symbolise his intention to cultivate peace, harmony, and industry. The tailor of the *Undaunted* was instructed to make two of these flags, one to be hoisted upon the fort, the other upon the barge of the *Undaunted.*

Elba still has the Napoleonic arms. In 1840 the flag with

bees was ratified by the Grand Duke Leopold. By a Royal Decree of the 23rd February, 1902, arms were for the first time conceded to the Province of Leghorn, which comprises the city of Leghorn and the islands Gorgona, Elba, Pianosa, Monte Cristo, and Giglio. Capraia is under the jurisdiction of Genoa. The arms are thus described in the "Bolletino della Consulta Araldica," Vol. V: "Troncato di Elba che e d' argento alla banda di rosso, carica di tre api d' oro; e di Livorno ché e di rosso al castello d' argento, merlato d' oro, aperto e finéstrato di nero, uscente da un mare d' azzuro fluttuoso di argento; colla torre destra cimata da una bandiora bifida, bianca, scritta col motto *Fides* al naturale." (Per fess. 1. Elba; argent on a bend gules, three bees or. 2. Leghorn; gules, a double-towered castle argent, embattled or, door and windows sable, issuant from a sea wavy azure; on the dexter tower a pennant argent with the word *Fides*.)[1]

Napoleon entered the barge of the *Undaunted* accompanied by Koller, Campbell, Clam, Ussher, Drouot, and Bertrand. The yards were manned and royal salutes were fired by the *Undaunted* (101 guns), by the batteries, and by two French corvettes which happened to be in the harbour; and the churches rang their bells. In deference to the wishes of Napoleon, who expressed great anxiety for his personal safety, boats containing British marines kept close to the barge.

As they approached the shore it was seen that the quays were a mass of people and that the ramparts were crowded. From the windows of the houses bright-coloured shawls and rugs were hanging out, and the ladies of Elba were in their best clothes.

On landing Napoleon was received by the civil and military authorities, and the Mayor, Traditi, advanced, bowed low, and presented the keys of the town on a silver plate. He had prepared a little speech, but was overcome with emotion

[1] I am indebted to Mr. Montgomery Carmichael, British Consul at Leghorn, for this reference, and also for the translation.

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NAPOLEON'S ARRIVAL IN ELBA

From a French caricature of 1814

and unable to utter a word. Napoleon returned him the keys, saying, "I confide them to you, and I could not do better." He was then conducted by the Vicar-General under a red canopy covered with tinsel and bordered with gilt paper. He was clad in his green Chasseur's uniform, with white breeches, and he wore the star of the Legion of Honour, and the decoration of the iron crown; on his hat was a cockade with the new Elban colours. As he walked forward he was followed in procession by Generals Bertrand and Drouot; Captain Ussher and General Dalesme; the Austrian and British Commissioners; Captain Clam and Lieut. Hastings; the Treasurer Peyrusse, and the Pole Jersmanowski; behind whom came the remainder of Napoleon's suite, followed by the officers of H.M.S. *Undaunted* and the Elban officials. The National Guards and the French troops of the line formed two rows on either side, but in spite of their presence a dense crowd pressed around Napoleon, impeding his progress and causing some anxiety for his safety. However, the distance was short, and they soon reached the cathedral.

After Mass and a chanting of the Te Deum, Napoleon was glad to find a refuge in the *Hôtel de Ville* close by. Here a kind of throne had been made with a sofa placed upon a raised platform, covered with scarlet cloth bordered with gilt paper. All the notabilities of the island were assembled, to whom Napoleon made a short speech: "The softness of your climate, the character and morals of your inhabitants, have decided me to choose your island for my sojourn. I hope you will love me as my children. I shall always feel for you the solicitude of a father." Three violins and two violoncellos now burst into joyous music, while the inhabitants were presented in order of precedence.

The Emperor astounded these worthy people by the knowledge he displayed of their island, quoting the heights of their mountains, and displaying information which few of them possessed. To their simple minds he seemed endowed with miraculous powers. They did not know that these

particulars were to be found in printed books, which he had studied for the occasion. To some of them no doubt all writing was a mystery. It was not difficult for a Napoleon to send them away gaping with wonder.

Abler men than the unsophisticated Elbans had often been taken in. Ussher was much impressed when Napoleon, on seeing a man in the crowd wearing the order of the Legion of Honour, sent for him and declared he remembered giving him that decoration on the field of Eylau. Such a feat of memory was not impossible to Napoleon, but the old soldier would be easily induced to believe that his Emperor remembered him. On many occasions Napoleon showed powers that seemed miraculous and uncanny, when he had in fact just read up the subject or received a hint from his suite, and had then carefully prearranged the occasion for an impromptu remark.

Having made the required impression as to his marvellous mental powers, Napoleon proceeded to exhibit a physical energy which was also regarded as superhuman. He went out again for a ride to examine the fortifications, followed by his suite. He had been up early, had taken a morning stroll, and at his formal reception had walked a few more paces; now he was on horseback for an hour or two. There was nothing extraordinary in the achievement. Several of his suite had accompanied him at every step, and they had to undergo the additional fatigue of walking to and from the point from which he started, and were not, like their master, spared any of the minor exertions of the expedition; yet it is not contended that these attendants were endowed with miraculous powers. Pons has a shrewd remark upon this subject. He says: "The Emperor appeared to be indefatigable because he did only what he wanted, how he wanted, and when he wanted."

CHAPTER VIII

THE PALACE AND COURT

NAPOLEON was not satisfied as to his personal safety at the *Hôtel de Ville*. At first he had asked Ussher for a guard of fifty marines, but feeling, perhaps, that he would be giving offence if he showed his lack of confidence in the Elban National Guards and the French regiment, he kept only one British officer and two sergeants as personal attendants. Now, as always, he had confidence in the British character, and no other. He took a great fancy to one of the sergeants, an Irishman, who was ordered to sleep on a mattress outside his door, with his clothes on and his sword ready. When the British sailor left, with the *Undaunted*, one of the orderly officers took his place, " in case despatches should arrive in the night."

Apart from the fear of assassination, the *Hôtel de Ville* was unsuitable. Napoleon sought a refuge from the noise and smell of the town : where he was mobbed whenever he emerged ; where the streets were the only drains ; and where he was obliged to make himself unpopular by declaring that he disliked music, in order to obtain a little peace from the incessant serenading that went on.

He was up at 4 a.m. on the day after his reception. He told Pons that he had many proofs that the dawn was the time when the brain was most keen and precise. Another advantage of early rising was that it enabled him to escape the crowds. He went on foot for several hours before breakfast, inspecting the forts and magazines. In the after-

noon he rode into the country with the intention of selecting a country house.

For his town house, or Palace as it was to be called, his first choice was the barrack of St. Francis. There he would have been able to find room for General Bertrand and his family; but Bertrand preferred to live apart in his own domestic circle. On hearing this Napoleon at once gave in his adhesion, "I had almost said submission," writes Pons. Colonel Vincent, who was acting as the guide, entered in his journal that the Emperor was easier to please than the Grand Marshal. On several occasions it was noticed that Napoleon, after endeavouring to dispute with Bertrand, gave way. For example, Napoleon was enjoying a stroll one evening, and hearing a violin and being informed that a dance was taking place in honour of the marriage of a sailor, he expressed his intention of joining the wedding party. In spite of Bertrand's protests he walked on towards the music, but finally had to abandon the project. He stopped, and remarked with emphasis: "It is in small things, as in great. As everybody is against me, I must yield."[1]

Without further opposition from Bertrand Napoleon selected a house situated on the summit above the town, close to Fort Stella. It consisted of a central ground floor with wings of two stories on each side. One wing was occupied by officers of the Engineers, the other by their comrades of the Artillery, and the centre provided a large meeting-room.

Napoleon gave orders that this room should be divided by a movable partition, so as to provide a dining-room for himself on one side, and another for his suite on the other, while by removing the partition the whole space would be available for receptions.[2] It was for that purpose all painted one colour. He allowed a definite sum, 1600 francs (£64) for

[1] As husband and father Bertrand required a home of his own. As Grand Marshal an Emperor was necessary to him, and he disapproved of any abatement of the Imperial dignity.

[2] Correspondance, No. 21578.

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THE MULINI PALACE, PORTOFFRRAIO, 1914

the alterations, and fixed the date when they were to be finished ; he cut down the estimate for the movable partition from 438 fr. 64 c. to 400 fr. (£16).[1] While the men were at work he was already in residence, and he took a great interest in their operations, offering criticisms and making changes which retarded progress. He even assisted in mixing the paint, and stained his fingers in the process.

He afterwards raised the roof of the central portion of the building, to provide a ballroom above. This fine apartment had four windows on each side, giving views of the town in one direction and of the sea in another. Napoleon may have remembered what his father had done to the Casa Bonaparte at Ajaccio. The centre was, as in this case, lower than the wings. The space under the roof was used as a *guardaroba*, or storeroom for linen, clothing, and household necessaries of all sorts. By raising it Carlo di Bonaparte obtained a fine apartment not unlike that which his son was now building.

When the alterations were completed Napoleon occupied the ground floor, and his sister Pauline had the first floor, with the ballroom for receptions. The ground floor is considered by Italians to be unhealthy for the sleeping apartments, but the house was on a ridge and open on both sides to sea and air, and Napoleon was able to step out of his rooms on to the garden ; and in the summer it would be cooler below than in the rooms near the roof.

Napoleon's bedroom had two French windows on to the garden, and there was a bathroom attached. Adjoining were two small rooms, the study and the library.

The kitchen was on the left, and the dishes had to be carried through the garden to the dining-room, but any meals which Napoleon took in his bedroom could be served by way of a passage. He could reach the apartments of Pauline, and thence the reception-room on the first floor, by a private stair.

[1] Peyrusse, "Mémorial et Archives," Appendix, p. 47.

The big room is forty feet long by thirty broad. The ceiling decoration of this room is the only reminder of the residence of the Emperor. In the centre there is depicted a sceptre with leaves of laurel, and in the corner angels hold a wreath in each hand; these symbols of power, honour, and peace are supported by six fasces.

Suitable furniture was lacking. The Palace of Élise, at Piombino, contained some serviceable pieces; when he learned this, Napoleon gave orders to Deschamps, the groom of the bedchamber, to go to Piombino to fetch it. Koller assisted by signing a note to be delivered to the Austrian officer in charge. Deschamps was thus enabled to bring away all that he demanded. It came in small boats. The cost of transport is entered in one of the Treasurer's accounts at 3282 francs[1] (about £130), a considerable sum for so short a journey. Deschamps was good enough to give the officer an exact statement of all that he had taken, as Campbell observed, "on account of whoever might be the owner."

An opportune storm drove into Portoferraio a ship which had on board certain furniture belonging to Prince Borghese, the husband of Pauline; it was being forwarded from Turin to Rome. Napoleon appropriated it all, without going to the trouble of selection. He observed, with a smile, "It does not go out of the family," and was careful to forward to Prince Borghese a complete and detailed list of the capture. Napoleon also bought, for £200, the furniture belonging to the French regiment, and he gave £240 for what he found in the quarters of the Engineer and Artillery officers in the Mulini.

He used his favourite camp-bed. Visitors were struck with the plain simplicity, not to say shabbiness of his apartments. Most of the pieces were covered with faded yellow cloth, and in a dilapidated condition. When Fleury de Chaboulon visited Napoleon he noticed that the "paper of shot silk was discoloured and almost worn out, the carpet showed its

[1] Peyrusse, Appendix, p. 34.

seams, and had been patched in several places ; some sofas, badly covered, completed the furniture. I remembered the luxury of the Imperial palaces, and the comparison drew from me a deep sigh."[1]

Napoleon brought with him from Fontainebleau the fine service of silver which had accompanied him on his campaigns. From Fontainebleau also came the greater part of his library. He bought some books at a cost of 240 francs at Fréjus, and at Portoferraio he ordered others to be sent from Paris, Genoa, and Leghorn. He returned some to Leghorn to be suitably bound, with an "N" stamped on the back. He was very particular about the appearance of his books. He wrote to Bertrand on the 17th July : "I think it will be necessary to have all the books to be sent from Leghorn, rebound. Order that, if it is possible, an 'N' is put on each."[2]

On the 19th September : "Tell your correspondent at Leghorn again not to pay for the books until they have been accepted and with the reduction I have indicated for the old books. The first books which were sent were inferior editions and remainders. I prefer to wait and have a good library. Counter-order, therefore, all that can be counter-ordered."[3]

Again, on the 3rd October, he writes to Bertrand : "No book will be paid for unless it has been accepted by my secretary, who will consider price and quality, and will reject the books which are in bad condition."[4] And on the 15th November : "I have made some reductions with regard to the works which are old and incomplete. Warn Mr. Bartolucci that all those which are old or of different editions, or which have some defects, will not be accepted."[5]

No author was permitted to present himself, as part of the

[1] Fleury de Chaboulon, "Mémoires," p. 119.
[2] Correspondance, No. 21591.
[3] "Le Registre de l'île d'Elbe," edited by L. G. Pélissier.
[4] Registre, No. 90.
[5] Correspondance, No. 21655.

household, in shabby attire. Imperial etiquette was enforced even here.

On his return to Paris the Emperor gave his library to the town of Portoferraio, but the Grand Duke of Tuscany confiscated many of the best-bound books, and others have been filched away at various times. Those that remain, some one thousand volumes in all, are now on shelves at the *Hôtel de Ville*. Most of them came from Fontainebleau. There are works on mechanics, chemistry, military science, archæology, natural history, natural philosophy, botany, mineralogy, ancient and modern history; translations of Greek and Latin authors; the works of Voltaire, Rousseau, Montaigne, La Fontaine; and a collection of fairy tales in forty volumes. Two English grammars for French students have only a few pages cut in each. A book of which most of the pages are cut, is a school book having on one side of the pages, "Cent pensées d'une jeune Anglaise," and on the other side the English equivalent. Napoleon may have turned over the leaves of this book with a mild curiosity. A knowledge of English would be useful to him in the event, which he deemed not impossible, of a future residence in England.

Napoleon removed the windmills which had given the house its name of Mulini. He converted some outbuildings that had been used as a guard-house into a small theatre for amateur performances. He cleared away a number of buildings and thus obtained a small square on the front of the house, where his carriage-and-four could turn with comfort.

The house has a frontage of 120 feet. Just below it he built two rows of rooms for his orderlies and guards, the roofs being almost on a level with the square in front of the house. He had to make a road for his carriage for the short distance that lay between the house and the tunnel entrance to the forts. The only direct route to the Mulini from the town is by a long flight of stairs which passes close to the guard-houses. With his soldiers close at hand, a fort on

GARDEN OF THE MULINI PALACE, PORTOFERRAIO, IN 1814

From a contemporary print

either side, and the only approaches either through a tunnel or up a stairway, he felt reasonably secure. The house and grounds are enclosed within walls on every side, and are bounded on the north by the cliff overlooking the sea.

At the back of the house, on the north, Napoleon made a small garden with gravel paths and flower beds in the Italian style. The garden is not overlooked by any windows save those of the house, and in its present deserted state it conveys a feeling of seclusion and repose. The figure of Mercury and the Napoleonic shields are late additions by Prince Anatole Demidoff; and there were no substantial bushes or flourishing palms in the time of Napoleon.

At the further end there is a flagged walk 150 feet long, and a parapet overlooking the sea. In mid-ocean the islands of Capraia and Gorgona are visible on fine days; on the right are the Elban hills, and the Tuscan coast in the distance. From this point Napoleon could watch the movements of any vessel approaching the harbour.

Forty years later an English visitor found on the parapet a slab of boards roughly nailed together, which had been erected to carry Napoleon's telescope.[1] Here he would tramp up and down and watch the sea for the sails which were to bring, first his Guard, then his mother, then his sister Pauline; and from here also he saw, with great anxiety, H.M. frigate *Partridge* making for the harbour at the moment when all was preparation and bustle there for his departure.

On the 21st May,[2] Napoleon installed himself in the Mulini Palace, although even the ground floor was scarcely inhabitable, and his medical attendant, Fourreau, declared that the smell of the paint was unhealthy.[3] The displaced officers of engineers and artillery went into the quarters Napoleon

[1] "The Island Empire," p. 6. The author of this anonymous work was Henry Drummond Wolff, who was an attaché at Florence in 1852. I owe this discovery to Mr. R. A. Streatfield, of the British Museum.

[2] Vincent, "Mémoires de Tons," Vol. III, p. 190.

[3] At St. Helena Napoleon declined to permit improvements at Longwood, alleging his excessive susceptibility to the odour of oil paint.

was quitting at the *Hôtel de Ville*, where Bertrand and his family were also installed.

Before that, on the 16th May, Napoleon had given at the *Hôtel de Ville* his first social reception, a drawing-room, or *cercle des dames*. About fifty ladies, dressed in *grande toilette*, were seated on chairs at each side of the room, with the gentlemen standing behind them. When Napoleon entered, they all rose, and he went down the line asking each one the same questions, as to the occupation of the father or husband, and, if married, the number of children. Campbell was horrified to recognise among the élite of Portoferraio a young woman with her two sisters, to whom he had delivered a uniform for repairs. He writes of the ceremony: "After this farce was played off Napoleon spoke to two or three of the gentlemen who were nearest him at the end of the room, and at last walked off, apparently impressed with the ridiculous nature of the scene."[1]

In the Palais des Moulins Napoleon was not so accessible as at the *Hôtel de Ville*. The entrée was carefully guarded, and the etiquette of the Imperial Court was established. The various officials had to live in or near to the Palace, as they were liable to be summoned to give an account of their work at any hour of the day or night, according to the caprice of their employer.

All audiences had to be arranged with General Bertrand, the "Grand Marshal of the Palace of the Emperor."

Born at Chateauroux in 1773, Bertrand was the son of the local inspector of waters and forests. In September, 1793, taking advantage of the opportunity afforded for a military career by the emigration of officers, he entered the Army as a Lieutenant of Engineers. In 1798 he went as a Captain to Egypt with Napoleon, and by 1800 had risen to the rank of Brigadier-General.

He first came into prominent notice in 1805, when the Austrians were about to blow up the Tabor Bridge at Vienna,

[1] Campbell, p. 231.

to prevent the French from crossing the river. Murat endeavoured to make the Austrians believe that a truce had been declared, but they were not convinced until General Bertrand pledged his word of honour for the statement; by means of this deliberate falsehood the bridge was kept intact and the French troops were able to cross it, a matter of great importance.[1] On hearing the story the Emperor, perceiving that here he had an officer who was not too squeamish and would stick at nothing, kept him in good appointments. He was sent in 1807 as Napoleon's Adjutant-General to the King of Prussia, with instructions to obtain a separate treaty of peace with Prussia, but that proved beyond his power.

Bertrand was present at Friedland and at Wagram, and went through the Russian campaign. In 1813 he had an important command; but he gave the Emperor too favourable reports, and thereby deceived him as to the true position of affairs—a great disservice. Napoleon, however, preferred that type of man near his person, and Bertrand having distinguished himself after Leipzig at Hanau, in November, 1813, was promoted to the post of Grand Marshal of the Palace, to succeed Duroc.

In that capacity he was with Napoleon at Fontainebleau, and felt obliged to accompany him to Elba, not, however, without letting it be seen that he did so unwillingly, and only because his over-sensitive honour made it impossible to draw back. Bertrand was from this time forward Napoleon's chief supporter, private confidant, and official representative.

At Elba Bertrand was Chief of the Civil Administration with a salary of 20,000 francs (about £800). Madame Bertrand, a tall and dignified woman, was the daughter of General Arthur Dillon by Anne Laure Girardin, a cousin of the Empress Josephine. Her father was guillotined during the Terror, when she was eight years old. She had never

[1] Fournier, "Napoleon I," Vol. I, p. 376.

been in England, but spoke English with ease. Napoleon ordered her to marry Bertrand, and though at first she refused, she had to submit, and the marriage proved a very happy one.

Madame did not scruple to express to visitors her regret at the necessity which compelled her and her family to go to Elba; indeed, she was voluble upon the subject of the sacrifices they were making, and declared that nothing would induce her to stay more than a few months. Her eldest child, a boy, born just before the battle of Wagram in 1809, was the godchild of the Emperor and named after him. The second child, Hortense, went with the parents to St. Helena. A third was born and died at Portoferraio, to the intense grief of the parents, who were devoted to their children. Bertrand dined habitually with his family and spent as much of his time in his own home as Napoleon's service permitted. Madame Bertrand was not sociable, did not entertain and paid few visits. She kept away even from Napoleon, in spite of the Emperor's courtesies towards her. The Bertrands were "correct" to Napoleon. They did their duty and no more.

An English visitor found the Bertrands in miserable apartments in the *Hôtel de Ville:* brick floors, bare walls, no curtains to the windows, the furniture a few chairs and a sofa for Madame Bertrand, consisting of a mattress placed on chairs. "How different," said Madame, "from our apartments at the Tuileries."[1] It was one of Napoleon's severest trials that his chief followers made it plain that they regarded themselves as martyrs to their position.

Drouot, born in 1774, was the son of a baker. In the great year of opportunity, 1793, he obtained a commission as Second Lieutenant in the Artillery. He was present with Kellermann at the battle of Fleurus, with Moreau at Hohenlinden, and with Napoleon at Wagram, where he distinguished

[1] Vivian, J. H., "Minutes of a conversation with Napoleon Buonaparte at Elba," p. 9.

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himself. He went through the Russian campaign. As Brigadier-General, in 1813 he commanded the artillery at the battles of Lützen and Bautzen, and was promoted before the end of the year to General of Division, A.D.C. to Napoleon, and Aide-Major of the Guard. He was thus brought near to the person of the Emperor, who was pleased with him, and made him a Count of the Empire on the 22nd March, 1814. Being at Fontainebleau in attendance, Drouot volunteered to follow his benefactor into exile.

Returning with him to Paris, he was present at Waterloo. He did not offer to go to St. Helena. After the return of the Bourbons he was tried before a court-martial on the charge of high treason, and acquitted. He retired in 1825 as a Lieutenant-General, and died in 1847.

Drouot was the only one of Napoleon's suite whose devotion was undoubted, beyond all question, for he declined the present of 100,000 francs which Napoleon offered him, on the express ground that he did not require a bribe to buy his allegiance, and that its acceptance would interfere with his freedom. He was a bachelor, content with any room that might be provided for him. He was very religious, spending a good part of every day over his devotions. As Governor of the Island and Director of Military Affairs, with a salary of 12,000 francs (£480), Drouot was industrious, conscientious, and devoted to his work. In private life he was much esteemed for his kindness, geniality, and sympathetic good nature. There were occasions when Napoleon found Drouot's perfections rather fatiguing.

His two chief followers were as the poles apart in character, and in the nature of their allegiance. To Bertrand Napoleon was an institution with which he was connected ; to Drouot he was the embodiment of the glory of France, and his own benefactor, now suffering from misfortune. Bertrand's attachment was, in a great measure, selfish or involuntary ; Drouot's was due to patriotism, gratitude, and compassion.

The Treasurer was Guillaume Peyrusse. Born at Car-

cassonne in 1776, Peyrusse[1] enlisted in the Revolutionary army in 1793, at the age of seventeen, and went through some of the campaigns in the Pyrenees. He left the army in 1800. In the early days of the Empire his brother André, Receiver-General of the Department of Indre et Loire, obtained for him a position in the office of the Crown Treasury. In 1809 he was Paymaster at headquarters, and in that capacity followed the army in the campaign of Wagram. In 1812, as Paymaster of the Crown Treasury in the suite of the Emperor, he went with him to Moscow, and followed him in the campaigns of Germany in 1813, and of France in 1814. He was thus in the suite of Napoleon at Fontainebleau at the time of the abdication, and volunteered to accompany him to Elba.

Napoleon gave him the appointment at Elba of Paymaster and Receiver-General, at a salary of 12,000 francs (£480). When he was asked why he had followed Napoleon, he replied: "I did not follow Napoleon, I followed my treasure." Peyrusse returned to France with Napoleon, and then his ambition was finally satisfied; he was placed at the head of his department as Treasurer-General of the Crown, and was made a Baron of the Empire.

He was living in retirement at Carcassonne when, in 1821, the terms of a codicil in the will of Napoleon became known: "I had with the banker Torlonia, at Rome, two to three hundred thousand livres" (£8000 to £12,000) "of my revenues from the Island of Elba. After 1815, M. de la Peyrusse, although he was no longer treasurer, and had no authority, took for himself this sum. He must be made to return it." There was no justification for this statement. Peyrusse was a thoroughly honest man, who never took advantage of his position, though opportunities for doing so with small risk of detection were not wanting. It was very hard upon an upright, exact, and conscientious official to be thus publicly denounced upon a false charge. However, he

[1] "Lettres inédites du Baron Guillaume Peyrusse," by L. G. Pélissier.

succeeded in obtaining from Napoleon's executors complete exoneration in writing ; and in 1853 asked for and obtained from Napoleon III, expressly as a vindication of his character, the decoration of a Commander of the Legion of Honour. He died at Carcassonne in 1860, aged eighty-four.

Peyrusse was fond of good food and wine, and of pretty women ; he was a *bon viveur* so far as his circumstances would permit, a gay and light-hearted man. At Elba, where grumbling was the rule, somebody complained of his perpetual laugh. On that dull little island, as during the retreat from Russia, and under all conditions, even when prostrated by sea-sickness on the voyages to and from Elba—Peyrusse made the best of things. He has left memoirs and letters describing his experiences with the armies in the campaigns of 1809, 1812, 1813, and 1814, and during the Elba sojourn, besides his official accounts of money transactions. Written without affectation or pretension, the ordinary remarks of an average official at the time, who happened to find himself a participator in events of great importance, these homely records are of considerable value.

The Physician-in-Chief was Fourreau de Beauregard, who had been the veterinary surgeon in charge of the Imperial stables, and had assisted in the ambulance work in the campaign of 1814. His salary was 15,000 francs (£600). He was a gossip, who brought Napoleon all the small scandal of the place. He visited him at the same hour every morning. On one occasion, the Emperor being in his bath, the Physician-in-Chief brought him a basin of soup so hot that he could not take it, and when Napoleon proceeded to blow off the vapour, Fourreau told him that in so doing he absorbed air, which might give him colic. Napoleon angrily replied : " In spite of Aristotle and his cabal, at my age I know how to drink, and do not need to be taught by you."

Gatti was the apothecary, a person of very moderate ability, with a salary of 7800 francs (£312).

Deschamps and Baillon had been Grooms to the Bedchamber

at the Tuileries, and were now promoted to the title of Prefects of the Palace, with a salary of 4000 francs (£160) each. Deschamps was an old gendarme who made himself disagreeable to all with his rough and vulgar manners. Baillon was an old soldier who carried his martial air into the drawing-room, but he was not unpopular.

The four chamberlains were Elbans: Lapi, a doctor, who was also Director of Domains and Forests, and Commander of the Elban Guard; Vantini, of the Elban aristocracy; Traditi, Mayor of Portoferraio, also of the aristocrats of Elba, an excellent man; and Gualandi, the Mayor of Rio Montagne. The salary of the chamberlains was only 1200 francs (£48).

There were five orderly officers. At their head was a certain Roule, who arrived at Portoferraio declaring himself a Major of the Artillery, and a perfervid admirer of Napoleon. Although he was a quarrelsome, noisy man, and only a Captain, Napoleon accepted his services. Under him were Vantini, son of the chamberlain; Senno, whose father was one of the capitalists of the island; Perez, Binelli, and Bernotti.

Paoli, a Corsican, and relative of the great Pasquale Paoli, he made Captain of the Elba Gendarmes; he was trained by Napoleon as a personal attendant. The abilities of this young man may be judged from the reply he was heard to make to an enquiry by the Emperor as to the hour: "It is whatever time Your Majesty may please." The remark was received with a gesture of expostulation, but Napoleon was not displeased by banalities of that sort, and treated Paoli with the greatest favour.

Another Corsican whom Napoleon found at Elba was the Vicar-General, Arrighi, whom he appointed his private chaplain. Arrighi appears to have been a contemptible person, and addicted to indulgence in wine. He vaunted his powers of protection to all Elbans as a *cugino carnaro*, or blood cousin, of the Emperor.

BARON PEYRUSSE

From a contemporary print

PONS DE L'HÉRAULT

From a contemporary print

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Of the two secretaries, Napoleon took from Bertrand, Rathery and gave him Savournin instead; their salaries were 4000 (£160) and 2000 francs (£80).

The attendants officially described as "*pour la bouche*," or as we should say, "in the kitchen," were a *maître d'hôtel*, a carver, a chef, with assistant and boy, a roaster, three other assistants, a butler, a steward, a boy, and a baker, thirteen persons in all, whose salaries came to a total of 20,000 francs (£800).

Napoleon brought with him from Fontainebleau two valets, Hubert and Pelard, capable men who, however, refused to remain. They returned to France, and were replaced by Marchand, salary 2400 francs (£96), and Jilli, 2000 francs (£80). The name of Marchand was from henceforth to be associated with that of Napoleon, and seldom has a valet become so great a personage. Marchand was a superior man. He had been well educated for one in his position, his manners and tact were perfect, and he became devoted to the Emperor.

The two grooms, St. Denis, known as Ali to imitate the mameluke, and Noverraz, were faithful servants who, with Marchand, accompanied Napoleon to St. Helena. There were two ushers, Dorville and Santini; six footmen, of whom Archambault and Mathias were the chief, and nine other attendants, making with valets and grooms a total of twenty-one persons.

There was a head gardener, Hollard, with one assistant under him; and a director of music, whose band consisted of one pianist and two female singers.

Of the civil administrators of the island, Baccini, a Genoese, was a capable but not over-assiduous President of the Tribunal.

Poggi, Judge, was a Corsican settled in Elba. Napoleon charged him with the secret police, and was always interested in any reports he had to make, chiefly small scandal and gossip about the leading inhabitants.

Balbiani was the Intendant, a hard-working man of good business habits. It amused him to ask whether he was to regard himself as French or Tuscan or Elban, and give the answer, saying that he belonged to the nation that kept him in employment. He had a large family.

Napoleon insisted upon the strictest etiquette being maintained, precisely as if he were still at the Tuileries. He told his followers that he tested their conduct by that high standard. When he drove out, Bertrand and Drouot, if in the carriage, had to keep their hats off so long as they were in the town. When Napoleon was in Ussher's barge with Koller, Campbell, and others, some of the party, following Bertrand's example, remained uncovered, until Napoleon excused them, saying: "We are all here as soldiers together." When a stranger kept his hat on Napoleon always told his attendants to put theirs on also.

He neglected none of the privileges of royalty. One of his orders to the marine was: "When I go out" (on the water) "my flag will not be unfurled if I am incognito; nobody will pay any attention; if I am in ceremonious state my flag will be hoisted."

He drove always with four horses, with postilions and outriders, and a small mounted Staff, with a few Polish Lancers. He put down £20 a month in his personal budget to be distributed in charity, and seldom gave anything in the street to beggars, saying that if he did so they would surround him and make walking impossible. Indeed, he found that even on horseback he could not escape. One day, when he was riding in the country a woman kneeled in the middle of the road, apparently absorbed in her devotions. When Napoleon approached she rose and clasped the legs of his horse in a manner dangerous both to herself and the Emperor. She demanded alms, which were hastily given to be rid of her.

Petitioners he generally attended to. A man presented a petition beginning with the words: "Sire, it has happened

to me as to you, I have been dismissed from employment without knowing it or wishing it, as you will understand." Napoleon read no further ; exclaiming that he could not allow a man to die of hunger who stood exactly in his own position, he ordered some employment to be found for him.

Some of those who waylaid him wished only the honour of his notice, and with them he was affable and encouraging, as long as he was able to maintain his dignity. He showed great satisfaction when he had established a marked superiority in the conversation. Victory was necessary to him as much in these chance encounters as on the great battlefields.[1]

Of the English travellers a few obtained private audiences with the Emperor ; the remainder collected in the road where he was expected to pass, and stood at the side to gaze at the prodigy. Napoleon said one day : " I am for them an object of great curiosity. Let them satisfy it, then they will go back to their country and amuse the ' Gentlemans ' by misrepresenting my appearance and gestures." Then, after a pause, he added sadly : " They have won the game and may claim the reward."[2] But he soon became annoyed at being regarded as an animal to be watched in his cage, and gave instructions that new arrivals were to be closely examined. Anglès, the Minister of Police in Paris, received from his spy a report that the restrictions upon the right of landing were due to the Emperor's fear of assassination. A boat arrived one day with thirty-two passengers, of whom only four were allowed to land, and they were English, whom Napoleon trusted.

Pons saw much of the English visitors, for most of them went to visit the mines. He was surprised to find that they did not rush into each other's arms when they chanced to meet, and asked Campbell to explain the national idiosyncrasy of waiting to be spoken to. Campbell said that many English travelled merely to display their wealth, and

[1] Pons, p. 127. [2] Pons, p. 83.

the better class of English visitors would have nothing to do with them. And this remark of Pons is also quite modern: "What is uniform among the English, to whatever class they may belong, is praise of the Emperor, and really they seem to rival each other in their expressions of eulogy."

THE VILLAGE OF RIO, ELBA

From a contemporary print after a sketch by Sir R. C. Hoare

CHAPTER IX

A DESERTED ISLAND

ON the 6th May, two days after his arrival, Napoleon made an expedition to Rio to inspect the famous mines. At 6 a.m., accompanied by Bertrand and Drouot, with Dalesme, Ussher, and Campbell, he embarked on the quay in the barge of the *Undaunted*, and crossed the bay to the eastern shore at Magazzini, where Elban ponies were waiting to carry the party over the mountains. The road was romantic and the views beautiful. They had first to ascend the hill of Volterraio, the road winding from side to side amid a luxurious vegetation of aloe, clematis, geranium, lavender, and many odoriferous shrubs. They passed near the summit upon which were still the remains of the famous fortress which had resisted even Barbarossa himself. Here the Elbans had made their last stand, and as there are precipices on all sides the failure of the corsair is not surprising. Napoleon was much impressed by the remarkable position of the citadel.

They were met above Rio Montagne by Pons and Gualandi, the Mayor. Hillocks of the excavated red earth lay about. The visitors were taken into the principal mine, two guides with torches showing the way. When they had arrived at a large opening it was suddenly lighted up, to the astonishment of the simple Ussher, who at first thought there had been an explosion, and admired the composure of Napoleon, calmly taking a pinch of snuff.

The fishermen of Rio Marina had already cast their nets,

and had obtained a miraculous draught, a fish weighing twenty-five pounds. The march into the small town was of a triumphal nature. Young girls headed the procession which greeted the Emperor and escorted him into the town, while the merchant vessels, anchored near the shore, fired off all the guns they had. People crowded to kiss Napoleon's hands, or to present petitions. The Elban flag waved over the house of Pons, the priest stood at the door of the church: "It was a hearty reception," says Pons, "worth more than many others."[1]

So far Napoleon had been very affable towards the administrator of the mines, but unfortunately there were a number of lilies growing in beds near the house, which Napoleon observed; he called the attention of Pons to the Bourbon symbol, and then turned his back upon the distressed official. He asked Dalesme whether Pons was still a republican, to which the General could only reply that he was always a patriot. At breakfast Napoleon, with studied rudeness to Pons, made a point of talking to the Mayor and asking him for details about the mines. The meal was not gay. Bertrand never opened his mouth. Taillade, a former midshipman of the French Navy, had the audacity to say of a mathematical problem which Napoleon found some difficulty in solving: "Nothing could be simpler, a child could do it." Everybody was aghast, but the Emperor soon succeeded in exposing his ignorance.

They returned as they had come, by horseback over the mountains, and then at 5 p.m. entered the barge for Portoferraio. Pons relates that Gualandi, having accompanied Napoleon to the water's edge, asked permission to retire, and then, with one knee on the earth, kissed the Emperor's hand and said, "*In te Domine, speravi*"; whereupon Dalesme, disgusted at the slavish ceremony, told him that he was "*une canaille d'une fameuse espèce*" (an utter cad). Napoleon pretended not to hear that remark. Pons then

[1] Pons, p. 47.

"saluted" him and returned to Rio. Napoleon observed to Dalesme that Pons "had not troubled himself about going off." Pons learned that he should have accompanied Napoleon back to the Palace unless he had obtained leave to depart. He did not perceive that Napoleon preferred the excessive self-abasement of Gualandi to his own self-sufficient independence. Even Bertrand was smartly censured on one occasion for having omitted to obtain permission to depart. He had gone to Longone and been received by Napoleon, and had returned to Portoferraio when their business was concluded. Napoleon wrote to him: "Monsieur Count Bertrand, you left without first speaking to me; that is very bad behaviour, and another time you must wait until I have dismissed you."[1]

On the 8th May the *Curaçoa*, Captain Tower, arrived at Portoferraio bringing Mr. Locker, Secretary to the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Edward Pellew. It was Locker's duty to present to Napoleon a copy of the convention of the 23rd April, preliminary to the Treaty of Paris. Napoleon read it in silence, in the presence of Koller, Campbell, Ussher, Bertrand, and the chief followers, and when he had concluded, returned it to Locker with polite expressions of his obligations to the Commander-in-Chief. He was demonstrating his complete indifference to all such affairs, having no longer any part in politics.

On the 9th Koller took his leave, and embarked on the *Curaçoa* for Genoa. Koller had been respected and liked by them all. Napoleon gave him the following letter for the Empress Marie Louise :—

"PORTOFERRAIO, *the 9th May*, 1814.

"MY GOOD LOUISE,

"General Koller, who accompanied me here, and with whom I am very pleased, is returning. I am entrusting him with this letter. I beg thee to write to thy father to do some-

[1] Correspondance, No. 21633.

thing to show regard for this General, who has been most satisfactory.

"I have been here five days. I am having prepared a nice house with a garden where the air is good, where I shall go in three days. My health is perfect. The inhabitants seem good people and the country is agreeable. What I want is to have news of thee, and to know thou art well; I have received nothing since the courier that thou didst send to me, who reached me at Fréjus. Good-bye, my friend. Give a kiss to my son."

Still the proud man would not ask his wife to join him.

This day Napoleon paid his first visit to Porto Longone, where he was received with the customary processions and firing of guns. In the evening he had Dalesme and Campbell to dinner, and talked freely on politics.

On the 10th May Napoleon rode up a high hill above Portoferraio to a spot which was not far from the sea in any direction. After gazing steadfastly at the scene for some time, he turned to his suite and remarked with a laugh: "Eh, my island is very small!"

During dinner Drouot reported that a Neapolitan vessel had arrived from Marseilles on the way to Naples, having on board an A.D.C. of Murat. Napoleon pretended not to hear, and went on talking on other subjects, though the honest but tactless Drouot repeated the statement.

On the 18th May Napoleon began a tour of exploration of the west of the island. He took with him Bertrand and Campbell and two chamberlains, two orderly officers, a captain of gendarmes, the Intendant, the Mayor of Portoferraio, the President of the Tribunal, several other officials, and the necessary large staff of attendants.

On arriving at Marciana Marina (where he had been burned in effigy a few weeks before), he was met by young girls in their best dresses, bedecked with ribbons and crowned with flowers, who presented themselves in his path offering

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NAPOLEON AND ELBA

From an English aquatint of 1814

bouquets. Bombs were exploded, their noise being greater than what could be obtained from cannon. He was led to the church, where a Te Deum was sung, and in the evening there was a ball, which he did not attend.

Next day he went up the steep hill to Marciana Alta, and thence to Poggio and Campo, his appearance at each place being marked in the same manner. The populace cried out, "*Viva Napoleone, Viva il nostro sovrano.*" The good Elbans thought of Napoleon as their Sovereign, not as the Emperor.

On the 20th the party embarked on the *Caroline* for the little island of Pianosa, about fifteen miles to the south. Napoleon took two horses and rode all over the island.

On the return voyage he visited a small rock, La Scola, which rises to a height of 120 feet, within short range of the landing-place. He attempted to climb to the summit, but although given assistance he was unable to manage it. Campbell observes: "Indefatigable as he is, his corpulency prevents him from walking much, and he is obliged to take the arm of some person on rough roads." They arrived at Portoferraio at midnight, being escorted over the Elban mountains by peasants carrying torches, a service for which, by some negligence, they were not paid until their complaints had been heard all over the island, to the detriment of Napoleon's popularity.

Pianosa is a small island, about ten miles in circumference, lying between Elba and Monte Cristo. A Roman ruin known as the baths of Agrippa recalls the fact that Agrippa Posthumus, grandson of Augustus, was banished to this lonely spot at the instigation of Livia, and after the death of Augustus was here put to death by order of Tiberius.

In the Middle Ages Pianosa was inhabited by Tuscan colonists until, in 1553, Dragut, the famous pirate from Tripoli, who had captured a part of Elba, seized the Pianosa settlers, and carried them off as slaves. From that time the island was used by corsairs as a port of call where good water could be obtained, until the Emperor Napoleon himself, in

1806, sent thirty men with two pieces of cannon to take possession. A British frigate, the *Seahorse*, attacked them, placing two guns on the rock or islet which Napoleon had just endeavoured to climb. The small garrison was taken prisoner, the fortifications destroyed, and the island abandoned. It had not been recolonised.

Napoleon announced in a communication to Bertrand that Pianosa, having no particular owner, "belongs entirely to the Emperor." His chief concern was that the island should not again become a home for corsairs. He sent for Lieutenant Larabit, a young officer of Engineers, and gave him instructions for the fortification of the island. He was to construct a barrack and a fort. Napoleon pointed out on the map the positions he had selected for these works. He went to Porto Longone and saw Larabit embark with four cannon, ten gunners, and twenty men of the free battalion of Elba, commanded by Captain Pisani. They were followed by a number of workmen from Italy. A few tents were taken, but not enough for all the men, some being obliged to seek shelter in grottos or in ruined dwellings, or to lie in the open air. Discipline became relaxed and there was much quarrelling for the coveted posts in the tents. The party was provisioned from Campo or Porto Longone by boats, which were sometimes prevented by stormy weather from attempting the passage; then the men had to subsist upon biscuit or shellfish, and they complained vigorously.

Napoleon sent the Commander at Longone, Gottmann, to take command at Pianosa. He was a rough, quarrelsome man, of no education or ability. One of his first acts was to order Lieutenant Larabit to postpone making the barrack until he had converted a ruined building into a dwelling for himself, the Commander. Larabit said he had the order of Napoleon to build the barrack, to which Gottmann replied that he had the right to revoke Napoleon's orders with regard to the island.

Larabit, however, definitely declined to carry out the

Commander's orders, and continued work on the barrack. Soon afterwards Napoleon himself arrived, and heard the complaints of both sides. He brought with him Roule, the chief orderly, who took the part of Gottmann, and had a violent quarrel with Larabit, which would have ended in a duel but for the presence and interposition of Napoleon. Larabit was instructed to devote the whole of his time to the military works. Later he was replaced by Monier, Adjutant of Engineers.

In the end Napoleon dismissed Gottmann from his service. He had sent in a bill for the repairs to his house. In a letter to Drouot of the 16th December, 1814, Napoleon wrote: "The Commandant Gottmann demands payment of the cost of the work upon his house. To decide that we must ascertain to whom the house belongs. If it is mine, the sieur Gottmann must prove it, and then I will pay; if, on the other hand, it is his, the payment falls upon him." This must be described as mean. Napoleon took possession of the island with everything upon it, but to escape the payment of a small sum for repairs to the house of the officer he had sent to command the forces, he pretended to waive his ownership of that building. Then, by dismissing the man, who could not continue living at Pianosa, he resumed the ownership.[1]

The precarious situation on the island with regard to provisions and the monotony of the existence, made all who were sent to Pianosa most discontented. Campbell heard one soldier at Portoferraio declare that if he were ordered to Pianosa he would commit suicide. One of Napoleon's letters to Drouot begins: "I am sending you a number of letters from Pianosa. I cannot understand the cause of all these complaints. I have given orders that the garrison is to have the rations of sailors; they should accordingly have meat, biscuit, rice, and either brandy or wine. I have given orders that the *Caroline* should be sent, provisioned for fifteen days, and with a reserve provision

[1] Registre, No. 137.

for the garrison for twenty days. Let me know if my orders have been executed at Porto Longone."[1] He also ordered to be sent 1600 rations of wine, twenty sheep, and two cows; but even a sufficiency of food could not make Pianosa an attractive abode. The fort and the barrack were never finished. A couple of guns were placed in position on the rock La Scola, and an officer and four men were sent to live there in a grotto. Their lot was pitiable; their sole occupation was occasional target practice at a mark on the shore of Pianosa.

Napoleon paid three visits to Pianosa, on the last occasion taking his tent and remaining three days. He had still much of the spirit of the schoolboy. He played with schemes for a Utopian settlement upon the island. The land was flat, and he ascertained for himself, causing deep excavations to be made, that the good soil was of considerable depth, and well adapted for the cultivation of grain. There was also a good sward of grass. On his first visit he found a number of horses roaming about; it was explained that they belonged to the inhabitants of Campo, the nearest port to Elba, who put them out to grass for several months every year. They managed to catch their horses when they came for them, by waiting for them at a narrowed path leading to the watering-place.

The island being well fitted both for agriculture and pasturage, Napoleon proposed to found a model colony.[2]

He would divide it all into farms and would provide the farmers with all necessaries. He would sow acorns brought from the Black Forest, and protect the young growth with a plantation of acacias, which would be destroyed when they were no longer necessary. He would plant the pine in those places where the soil was suitable; he would compel every owner of land to mark his boundary by a line of mulberry trees; he would graft cuttings on the wild olives, and plant a quantity of good trees. He would plant fruit trees in

[1] Correspondance, No. 21577. [2] Pons, pp. 305–8.

quantity, especially the kinds which have red fruits; and wherever the soil was not suitable for wheat he would cultivate the vine. He would have a horse-breeding establishment, and a school for training domesticated animals.

A certain part of the island would be dedicated as the special property of meritorious citizens who had rendered services to their country; it would be used as a home for deserving Elbans. He ordered plans to be prepared for a village, with its church and other buildings.

To carry out these schemes a settled population was necessary. Napoleon found a Genoese capitalist, with whom he made an agreement on the following lines :—

1. The concessionaire will bring into the island of Pianosa one hundred families, not inhabitants of the island of Elba, who will establish themselves in permanent residence, and will devote themselves to the work of the island.

2. The corn which the concessionaire will raise on the island of Pianosa must not, in any event, in time of peace or in time of war, be taken beyond the island of Elba, unless, upon the deliberate advice of the municipalities, the highest authority in the island of Elba publicly declares that the Elbans are not in need of it.

3. The price of the corn will be, at an appointed date, fixed by the Government every year, in accordance with the price ruling in the markets of Tuscany and Romagna.

4. The concessionaire will always maintain in the island of Pianosa the flocks and cattle requisite for these purposes, and the price to be obtained for these beasts shall be regulated in the same manner as in the case of corn.

It was also provided that Napoleon would give to the concessionaire land of such amount as could be cultivated in two thousand days of labour, and he would provide the acorns from the Black Forest and such nursery trees as might be demanded. The concessionaire would endeavour throughout to fall in with the Emperor's ideas, and would be given a year in which to instal the families and start the enterprise.

When the Genoese capitalist failed him, Napoleon proposed himself to send forty families, giving to each head of a family a piece of land, with two oxen, two cows, ten sheep, and a sum of money. The olive ground was to be shared by the forty, who were to be free from all taxation for five years, but were then to begin paying back; and they were to return annually a certain small proportion of the produce of grain, oil, etc.

Nothing came of the various schemes for colonising Pianosa. The island was used as a grazing ground for the horses of the Polish Lancers, which were branded for identification and then turned out to run wild. Instead of the home for a selected number of persons of proved merit, Napoleon in fact made the island a penitentiary for wrongdoers, especially for insubordinate or discontented soldiers, who were sent to work there on the fortifications.

The island is at the present time a penal settlement cultivated by convicts, which is much what it was becoming under the influence of Napoleon.

CHAPTER X

THE ARRIVAL OF THE GUARD

AT Napoleon's request Ussher took the *Undaunted* to Nice in order to fetch Pauline, but when he arrived she had already sailed in a Neapolitan ship. He was back in Portoferraio on the 25th May. He went with Campbell to the Mulini Palace. They found Napoleon playing chess with Bertrand, attended by two chamberlains "who were looking very sulky," says Campbell. No doubt they had been standing for hours. Napoleon took the two Englishmen into his bedroom and there plied them with questions, one following the other before the first was answered. Since his departure from France he had not received any first-hand reliable report as to the situation of affairs, and he felt that much might depend upon the answers to his questions. He wished to be told that the French nation was dissatisfied with the Bourbon Government, and Ussher was able to give the desired assurance. There had been riots at Nice between French and Austrian soldiers; many persons at Fréjus had asked anxiously for news of Napoleon; the manufacturers were demanding encouragement in accordance with Napoleon's policy. Campbell says: "He showed the strongest exultation at all this, and chuckled with joy." When Ussher told him that Louis XVIII had said that in case of war, gouty though he was, he would place himself at the head of his Marshals, Napoleon laughed heartily: "Ha, ha! The Marshals and the army will find themselves

well commanded." Ussher proceeded to observe that the French had been guilty of great ingratitude towards him, at which Napoleon remarked: "Oh, they are a fickle people"; and he said that the nation was dishonoured by accepting a King from its enemies. Ussher said that there was a general disinclination to believe that the Emperor had travelled to Elba on board a British ship. He laughed at this, and enquired whether it was supposed he had been taken to England. Ussher said many thought the English had seduced him, as he preferred going in their ship. "Did they say I had now become an Englishman?" To the remark that he had many adherents in France, he said: "Oh! the Emperor is dead, I am no longer anything," but he immediately added that his Guards were still faithful, and alluded to his popularity at Lyons.

His eagerness to learn the news from France, and his exultation on hearing that the Bourbons were not popular, show that he was watching and waiting, not without hope that his opportunity might come. The Emperor was by no means dead; that was the impression left upon Campbell.

Napoleon had from the first an expectation, which increased as time went on, of a return to power. He was waiting for the Bourbon Government to make itself intolerable, for the gravest discontent to spread in the army, for the troops of the Allies, especially the Russians, to return to their countries; and he anticipated that the Powers would quarrel at the Congress shortly to be held at Vienna; or that, if they avoided quarrelling, his chance would come when the monarchs had dispersed, and the Czar had returned to St. Petersburg. That would occur in the autumn or winter, and his own bid for power would be made in the spring.

In the afternoon of this day, the 25th May, the frigate *Dryade*, Captain de Montcabrie, and the brig *Inconstant*, Captain de Charrier-Moissard, arrived. The frigate was to take away the French troops, and the brig

THE FORTRESS OF VOLTERRAIO, ELBA

From a contemporary print after a sketch by Sir R. C. Hoare

was to remain as the property of Napoleon, in accordance with the Treaty of Fontainebleau.

Napoleon was now more than ever anxious for the arrival of the Guard, for with the departure of the line regiment he would be left with only the small troop of Corsicans and Elbans. He did not feel convinced that the Guard would be allowed to come. He paced up and down the terrace in the garden of the Mulini Palace, scanning the horizon for the expected ships. In the evening he had Ussher to dinner. During the meal a British officer, who had been stationed by Ussher at a signal station on a height, reported that he had seen seven sail in the north-west quarter, standing toward the island. "I had no doubt," says Ussher, "from the number of vessels, and the course they were taking, that they were the long-expected transports. Napoleon almost immediately rose from the table, and I accompanied him to his garden, which with his house occupies the highest part of the works and has a commanding view of the sea towards Italy and the coast of France. Full of anxiety, he stopped at the end of every turn, and looked eagerly for the vessels. We walked till it was quite dark; he was very communicative, and his conversation highly interesting. It was now near midnight. I told him that with a good night glass I should be able to see them, for with the breeze they had they could not be very far from the island. He brought me a very fine night glass, made by Donaldson, which enabled me to see the vessels distinctly. They were lying to. He was most pleased, and in the highest spirits wished me good night."[1]

Though he had not retired till after midnight, Napoleon was up at 4 in the morning of the 26th May, and saw with great satisfaction the transports in the harbour. A little later he went to the quay, where his well-known figure was visible to his old soldiers, as he stood examining the ships through his spy-glass. It was too early for the disembarkation to begin, and Napoleon took it into his head to pay an un-

[1] "Napoleon's Last Voyages," p. 100.

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expected visit to the *Dryade*, to test the feeling of the sailors towards him; on boarding King Louis' ship he was received with spontaneous cries of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" much to his delight and the annoyance of the Captain, de Montcabrie. Then he returned to the quay, where the French troops of the line were drawn up under General Dalesme to welcome their comrades.

The Imperial Guard, nearly seven hundred in number, began to disembark at seven, and were landed at eight, under the eyes of their Emperor. He was overjoyed to see them; it meant a great deal to him to have their presence there to testify that he was indeed still the Emperor, and he now for the first time felt that with the *Inconstant* and his Guard he could offer a solid resistance to corsairs, or to other kidnapping expeditions. His delight was reciprocated by the old soldiers, many of whom rushed forward to kiss his hand, while cries of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" resounded on all sides. As their Commander, General Cambronne, approached, Napoleon seized him warmly by the hand and said: "Cambronne, I have passed many bad hours while waiting for you, but at last we are united once more, and they are forgotten." With colours flying, drums beating, and music from the band, the Guard marched to the Place d'Armes, followed by the Emperor. Arrived there, they formed a square into which Napoleon entered. With evident signs of emotion in his voice, he said: "Officers and Soldiers! I have been waiting for you with impatience, and I am very glad you have arrived. I thank you for associating yourselves with my fate. I recognise in you the noble character of the Grand Army. We will join together in good wishes for our own dear France, the mother country, and we will rejoice in her happiness. Live in harmony with the Elbans; they also have French hearts." The men replied with vociferous shouts of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" and then marched to their quarters, some in the Fort Stella, others in the barrack of St. Francis.

Napoleon returned to the quay and spent the whole day

there in the sun, watching the disembarkation of the horses, carriages, and baggage, which was completed by four in the afternoon. Then he went on board the *Undaunted* to thank officers and crew for their skill and care during the landing operations, observing that the Italians would have taken eight days over what they had done in as many hours, and they would have broken his horses' legs, not one of which had received a scratch. He also thanked them for their attentions to him during the voyage, said that he had been very happy on board, and ordered Peyrusse to give 2000 francs to be distributed among the crew.

The arrival of the Guard made it no longer necessary for the *Undaunted* to remain as a protection to Napoleon. When Ussher came to take his leave Napoleon presented him with a snuff-box upon which was his portrait set in diamonds; he said, "You are the first Englishman I have been acquainted with," and spoke in a flattering manner of England. Lieutenant Bailey, the transport officer, being presented, he thanked him for his care, and remarked how extraordinary it was that no accident had happened to the ninety-three horses, adding that the British sailors exceeded even the opinion he had long since formed of them. He then embraced Ussher *à la Française*, and said: "Farewell, Captain! Rely on me." Ussher adds that he seemed much affected.

He had a genuine feeling for the British Captain, and a real admiration for British sailors, and indeed the British nation. Campbell wrote in his journal: "Napoleon speaks most gratefully to everyone of the facilities which have been granted to him by the British Government, and to myself personally he constantly expresses the sense he entertains of the superior qualities which the British nation possesses over every other."

Campbell now suggested to Bertrand that his presence was no longer necessary. To this Bertrand was instructed by Napoleon to reply that there was a clause in the Treaty of Fontainebleau which guaranteed the security of the Elban

flag against insult from the Barbary corsairs, and this guarantee could only be enforced by British ships, on representations to be made by Colonel Campbell to the British Commander in the Mediterranean.

Campbell asked for a communication in writing, and on the 27th May received the following note from Bertrand :—

"Colonel Campbell is requested to be so good as to send to Algiers the flag of the island of Elba, making it known to the Consul of His Britannic Majesty that the Allied Powers have engaged to make that flag respected, and that it should be treated by the Barbary powers upon an equality with that of France.

"The presence of Colonel Campbell at Portoferraio seems indispensable, considering the great number of English vessels of war, of transport, and of commerce, which come to anchor off the island.

"On this occasion I can but repeat to Colonel Campbell how much his person and his presence are agreeable to the Emperor Napoleon.

"Le Comte Bertrand."[1]

Campbell sent a copy of this note to Lord Castlereagh, and asked for his instructions, which arrived two months later :—

"London, Foreign Office,

"*July* 15, 1814.

"Sir,—Your despatches to No. 21 inclusive, of the 13th ult., have been received and laid before the Prince Regent.

"I am to desire that you will continue to consider yourself a British Resident in Elba, without assuming any further official character than that in which you are already received, and that you would pursue the same line of conduct and

[1] Campbell, p. 242.

communication with this Department which, I am happy to acquaint you, have already received His Highness's approbation.

"I am, etc.,

"CASTLEREAGH.

"COLONEL CAMPBELL, etc. etc."[1]

This letter is in the vaguest terms. The position of Campbell was anomalous. He was "British Resident," but without powers, and his only duty was to make "communications." He was, in short, a spy. He was at Elba, as Napoleon knew perfectly well, to watch the Emperor's conduct, and to report any sign of an intention on his part to disturb the peace of Europe.

Napoleon was at first glad to have Campbell at Elba. His presence gave a certain countenance to the Treaty of Fontainebleau as a valid instrument; it seemed to indicate a friendly attitude on the part of the British Government; and it supported the dignity of Napoleon as a Sovereign.

And there were real dangers from corsairs or other assassins or kidnappers arriving by sea. The Dey of Algiers made his intentions perfectly plain. Campbell was shown a letter from Admiral Hallowell to Mr. Felton, the British Consul at Leghorn, in which he said: "I have received a letter from Mr. MacDonnell, the British Consul at Algiers, wherein he informs me that the Dey has instructed his cruisers to seize all Neapolitan vessels, and those sailing under the flag of Elba, wherever they may be met with, *and the person of the Sovereign of that island also, should any opportunity happily offer the getting hold of him.*" The words in italics were omitted by Campbell from the copy he sent to Bertrand.[2]

The presence of Campbell carried an implied assurance that in case of attack of this kind the British Navy would come to the assistance of Napoleon.

[1] Campbell, p. 273. [2] Campbell, p. 292.

Napoleon's fleet consisted of the following vessels :—

The *Inconstant*, named variously a brig, corvette, or brig-corvette, in fact a war-brig of about 300 tons, carrying sixteen carronades of 18, to which Napoleon added two more, making eighteen in all. He placed in command midshipman Taillade, who had served in the French Navy, and was at that time captain of the schooner *Levrette*. Taillade was married to an Elban lady, which gave him a local standing, and augured well for his loyalty to the owner of the island ; at least it seemed safe to confide the *Inconstant* to him, for he would naturally desire to bring the ship back to his own home. Napoleon gave him the rank of lieutenant and placed him in command of the fleet, with the title of *Commandant de la Marine*. Taillade did not prove a success ; his loyalty came under suspicion, and he was not a capable or zealous officer ; in bad weather he suffered from sea-sickness and remained in his cabin. He had as lieutenant a young Corsican, aged twenty-four, named Sarri, who had been in the French Navy as midshipman.

Napoleon sent the *Inconstant* on several voyages. She went to Genoa, ostensibly to fetch cows, sheep, books, trees, etc., but the chief object of these voyages was to take emissaries from Napoleon to various persons with whom he was in correspondence. The *Inconstant* also went to Civita Vecchia with the shot, guns, and other material that was being sold, and in this direction she carried persons charged with messages for Cardinal Fesch at Rome. The brig also went, in October, to Baia, near Naples, and waited there three weeks for Pauline, who was ultimately taken on board off Portici. This vessel constituted practically the whole of Napoleon's fighting force. Its complement was sixty men, but the number was always short, as the men had to be picked up at Capraia or Genoa, the Elban sailors being unwilling to abandon their trading and fishing pursuits.

At first Napoleon supposed the *Inconstant* would require to remain near at hand to search the coasts for corsairs, and

he looked about for a merchant ship which could be used for the voyages to Genoa and Civita Vecchia. He found a chébec of 83 tons, which he bought for £350 and christened the *Étoile*. She was made to carry six four-pounders and had a crew of sixteen men, under the command of Richon. She was employed in fetching grain from Civita Vecchia, moving guns and stores from Longone to Portoferraio, and such jobs.

The half-decked advice-boat, *Caroline*, 26 tons, sixteen men, carried one four-pounder. This vessel had belonged to the French Navy, but being manned by Elbans did not leave with the other French ships, and so came into the possession of Napoleon. The *Caroline* made frequent voyages to Pianosa with men and provisions.

Two feluccas belonging to the mines, whose chief business it was to prevent the smuggling of ore, were taken by Napoleon, and christened by him the *Mouche* and *Abeille*. He reduced their crews from twenty men to eight. They kept up communication with Piombino, helped to provision Pianosa and to some extent continued to watch for smugglers. Early in 1815 Napoleon employed them for the mails, instead of the post-boat, and thereby effected an annual saving of £172.

Napoleon had three barges, or row-boats. The *Ussher*, for ten rowers, was given him by Captain Ussher, and named after the donor ; it was reserved, as also the lighter four-oared *Hochard*, for the exclusive use of Napoleon himself. A third boat, with six rowers, was for Bertrand or Drouot or others of the suite.

The Guard formed the greater part of his army. Although by the Treaty of Fontainebleau, Article 17, Napoleon was not entitled to take to Elba more than four hundred officers and men of the Guard, it was known before he left Fontainebleau that he had authorised Drouot to engage a larger number of picked and devoted soldiers from the Guard then in attendance. The Commissioners of the Powers made no protest, and at Fréjus Campbell promised that as many

as seven hundred men should be taken on board the British transports at Savona.

Napoleon's other continental troops, sometimes classed as a part of the Guard, were Polish Lancers. Before leaving Fontainebleau Napoleon had arranged with Jersmanowski for a squadron of eighty Polish Lancers to be sent to Elba, and forty more to Parma, to act as guard to Marie Louise; but when he arrived at Elba he began to doubt the value of any such troops on the island. In his orders to Drouot, of the 7th May, he wrote: "I am waiting the opinion of the Grand Marshal to decide whether I should let Poles come. The opinion of General Dalesme is that I should do well to make them come, that they will not cost more than elsewhere."[1]

On the 12th he made Bertrand write to Meneval:—

"PORTOFERRAIO, 12*th May*, 1814.

"MY DEAR MENEVAL,

"The Emperor is sending to Parma for the service of the Empress a detachment of fifty Polish Light Horse and a hundred harness horses; I have had money given to them for their journey as far as Parma. I am writing to the Mayor of Parma to provide lodging, accommodation, and food for horses and men until the Empress gives orders on the subject.

"We are waiting impatiently for news of you.

"The Emperor is in the best of health.

"BERTRAND."

Of the hundred and twenty Poles fifty-four were detached from the Guard on the journey from Fontainebleau and sent on to Parma. They were to be at the charge of Marie Louise. When they arrived at Parma, Marie Louise was at Aix, and there was no near prospect of her going to Parma. The only course for the Poles was to proceed to their employer, whom they finally reached at Elba on the 5th October. Then came

[1] Correspondance, No. 21566.

CAMBRONNE

From a contemporary portrait

COUNT JERSMANOWSKI

From a contemporary portrait

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the troublesome question of payment for their journey. An agreement had been made at Leghorn with the Mayor, but Napoleon declined to consider it binding upon him, and paid only half what had been arranged. He wrote to Peyrusse: "In whatever situation fortune may place me, I will not tolerate any cheating. You will therefore place 54 napoleons, or 1080 francs, with the Commissary of Marine, who will charge the Captain of the Post to hand them to the owners of the vessels which have brought the Poles."[1] The money was to pass from one official to a second and from him to a third before payment was made. Peyrusse paid what was still due, 1034 francs, as late as the year 1818, out of the Elba funds.[2] Having decided to allow Jersmanowski and his Poles to continue their journey to Elba, Napoleon wrote to Drouot, 22nd May: "The Poles will be considered as horse artillery; consequently Drouot will present regulations for their drill. The principal reason that has made me desire to have cavalry has been to enable me to get quickly to the batteries."[3]

It was not easy to make use of mounted men at Elba, and Napoleon was far from pleased at the arrival of the fifty-four from Parma. In the end he sent most of their horses to run wild at Pianosa, where they were no expense; he used eight in his stable to augment his stock of carriage horses. The last arrangement was that ninety-six Poles were to form a company of garrison artillery, and twenty-two were to furnish the mounted escort for Napoleon's carriages.[4]

Besides his Guard and his Poles Napoleon raised two battalions nominally of four hundred men each, one called the Corsican, the other the Elban. The Elbans were disbanded at the end of the year. The others were originally mainly volunteers from the French regiment of the line stationed

[1] Registre, No. 92.
[2] Peyrusse, Appendix, p. 143.
[3] Correspondance, No. 21570.
[4] Various numbers are given in Napoleon's orders, Registre, Nos. 13, 17, 74; Correspondance, No. 21649.

at Portoferraio when Napoleon arrived, but later this corps was composed chiefly of Corsicans. It was never at full strength.

Napoleon's military force was finally composed as follows:—

Guard—			
Grenadiers and Chasseurs	607		
Gunners	43		
Sailors	21		
	—	671	
Poles. Mounted	22		
Gunners	96		
	—	118	
Corsicans (say)	350		
Gendarmes (say)	50		
	—	400	
		1189	

In round numbers say 1200 men.[1]

Cambronne, Commander of the Guard, was made Commandant of Portoferraio.

Mallet was Colonel of the Guard.

Colonel Lebel was Adjutant-General.

Colonel Jersmanowski commanded the Poles.

Captain Roule was director of the Engineers.

Captain Cornuell, director of the Artillery.

Captain Paoli, Corsican, was in command of the Gendarmes.

Filidoro was Captain of the Port of Portoferraio.

Colonel Tavelle was Commander at Rio; his force consisted of five gunners and four horsemen.

General Boinod was Inspector-General.

The name of Cambronne will ever be remembered in connection with the exclamation attributed to him in the hour of defeat at Waterloo: "The Guard dies, but does not surrender." The remark is claimed also for another officer; it would have been characteristic of Cambronne, who was a

[1] The original authorities do not agree, and Napoleon himself gives different figures at different times, but the general result is sufficiently established.

man of great courage and pertinacity. Born in 1770, of the bourgeois class, Cambronne left his home at an early age, and consequently did not receive a refined education, and was a man of rough manners. Napoleon gave him superintendence of "all that is police and security, consequently no individual will disembark at Portoferraio without a written permit, and until he has been interrogated, and until he" (Cambronne) "has ascertained what brings him to the island."[1] This order was issued on the 29th May, immediately after the arrival of the Guard. Napoleon could not have entrusted the care of his person to a more typical Cerberus both in manner and spirit.

Soon afterwards, on 22nd June, he ordered that his cavalry escort should always be inspected before service by Captain Baillon, to see that their arms were in good condition and that they had their cartridges. On the 11th September further orders were issued, that the orderly officer Roule "will accompany me constantly on horseback, and a horse from my stable will be given him, with two pistols; he will command my escorts and will take the necessary measures for security; he will consult with the Commander of the Gendarmes for the placing of the gendarmes at the points of passage, but the gendarmes will never follow me. There will be every day on duty to follow my carriage five mounted men, with their carbines and pistols loaded." On the 6th October: "Give the most positive orders that the detachment of cavalry has its arms in good condition, and a packet of cartridges." On the 9th September: "Give orders that the sailors of my Guard, when they are on board my barge, have always with them sabres, their muskets, and two packets of cartridges in their pouches."[2]

With the Guard came Napoleon's carriages and horses. The *dormeuse de voyage* which Napoleon had used from

[1] Registre, No. 2.

[2] The orders of May 30, June 22, Sept. 9, Sept. 11 (Registre, Nos. 2, 3, 70, 73), with their evidence of Napoleon's fear of assassination, were excluded from the official publication of the Emperor's correspondence.

Fontainebleau to Fréjus had arrived on the *Undaunted*. Now were landed thirteen more carriages. There was the *berline de voyage*, in which the Emperor had made many journeys, and two *berlines de ville*, used by him in Paris, Of the remainder Napoleon kept two calèches in use at Elba, having them out on alternate days; one was painted yellow and red, and the other all yellow. To these were subsequently added the barouche made for the ascent to San Martino, and a *calèche de chasse*. Madame Mère brought from Rome a cabriolet, and Pauline brought a low carriage and two small horses. Madame Bertrand also had a carriage. All these were in the charge of Vincent, the chief groom. They were stored in the Arsenal.

With the Guard also came an artillery wagon, and seven other wagons, which were employed to convey the materials for Napoleon's new buildings.

The Guard brought eight of Napoleon's riding horses, each of them associated with some of the events of his great career.

"Wagram" was a small Arab, dappled grey, which had carried him at the battle of Wagram.

"Tauris" was a grey Persian with white mane and docked tail, given by the Czar Alexander at the Congress of Erfurth. This horse suited Napoleon exactly, and carried him, during the Russian campaign, at Smolensk, Moscowa, and the entry into Moscow, and also in part of the retreat. On one occasion, on the 25th October, 1812, when Napoleon and his staff were nearly captured by Cossacks, the speed and spirit of this horse were of great service. Napoleon rode it across the bridge over the Beresina, at the battles of Dresden, Leipzig, and Hanau, in the campaign of 1814, on the march to Paris, 1815, and, finally, at the battle of Waterloo. Though not so famous as "Marengo," another grey which was at Waterloo,[1] Tauris was associated with Napoleon in all the later campaigns and battles.

[1] "Marengo" was captured after Waterloo; the skeleton is in the Museum of the United Services Institution, Whitehall.

Another grey, familiar to Parisians, was "Intendant," a big Normandy horse, of quiet manners, ridden by Napoleon at most of his great reviews, and on ceremonial occasions of parade, such as the triumphal entry into a captured foreign capital. "Intendant" was destined to be much in evidence again in Paris during the hundred days. These grey horses became as closely associated with the fame of Napoleon as his grey overcoat and his hat. In battle pictures the Emperor is usually on the back of a grey horse. Napoleon was a master of the art of theatrical display, and would always use a grey horse when he wished to make an impression.

A horse which carried him often and well was a big chestnut "Roitelet," from an English sire and French dam, given to Napoleon by his stepson, Eugène de Beauharnais. Napoleon at first took a dislike to this horse, because at Schönbrunn in 1803, at a review, it carried him into the ranks of the Guard, causing injuries to some of the men. But during the retreat from Russia he was glad to ride it, as it did not slip on the ice like the other horses. At Lützen, when Napoleon was on its back, a bullet shot off some of its hair, which never grew again over the spot. When Napoleon visited his stables at Elba, he would look at the place and, giving the horse a lump of sugar, say: "Eh, we escaped nicely that time, both of us."

"Montevideo," a bay from South Africa with flowing mane and tail, had been used in Spain. Well-mannered, this horse was reserved at Elba for Marie Louise.

"Emir," a Turk, with flowing black mane and tail, had been used in Spain, and in 1814.

"Gonzalve," a big Spanish bay, with flowing mane and tail, was ridden by Napoleon in Spain, and in 1814 at Brienne.

Two small Corsican horses were bought for climbing the rough places on the hills. In the regulations he issued on the 22nd June, Napoleon ordered that the Corsican horses were not to receive more than a half-ration of food each. "The five mules," proceeds the order, "will be all five provided with pack saddles; none of them with riding saddles; they

will be divided into two brigades: one of three mules and a small horse, the other of two mules and a small horse."[1]

Here is another regulation: "You will have given out of the account for the building of Saint Martin, half a bushel of oats as gratuity" (*en gratification*) "to the horses employed upon the transport of materials."

And this is another division into minute brigades: "This is the number of saddle horses required per day: one horse is enough for me; one for the officer in command of the cavalry which may be accompanying me, one for the groom (these will not be native horses); one for the orderly officer, one for my chasseur (these two will be native horses). To form three brigades there will be needed, therefore, nine French horses and six native horses. These six native horses will cost me in provender only as much as three" (French horses).[2]

Less than two years had elapsed since the Emperor had led an army of half a million men across Europe. He was now forming brigades consisting of two mules and a Corsican horse, three mules and a Corsican horse, three French horses and two Elban horses. Thus with nine French horses, six Elban, two Corsican, and five mules, he was in a position to create five brigades. One would say that his mind was affected were it not that he had shown the same tendency ever since the Moscow disaster. He gave orders then for the movement of corps of troops which he knew existed only in his own imagination. He would place a Marshal of the Empire in command, and if the Marshal protested that he was not in fact given any soldiers, the reply he got was: "Would you deprive me of my peace of mind?" It was with the deliberate intention of deceiving himself that he made use of the word "brigade." A conscientious acceptance of facts might have unhinged the brain. By refusing to admit his losses he contrived to preserve a certain amount of mental composure.

[1] Registre, No. 5. [2] Registre, Nos. 16, 74.

There were two riding horses for Bertrand, two for Drouot, and eleven for the suite, making twenty-five riding horses in all. For harness work there was a team of eight bays for the great state coach, never used at Elba, where it was quite out of place ; four teams of six horses for the berlines ; three teams of four in regular work; four bay carriage horses for the town, required for visitors or the suite ; four teams of six for the wagons ; and five mules, making seventy-seven altogether, and a grand total of one hundred and two horses for riding and driving.

For stables Napoleon used the salt warehouses of the salt contractor, Signor Senno. He had them properly paved, well lighted by windows looking on to the sea, and arranged with mangers on each side of a broad central path. They abutted on to a big shed where the chargers of the Polish Lancers were placed. There were also harness-rooms on a large scale.

Altogether there were forty-two persons employed in connection with the horses and carriages, including the two grooms and three coachmen required for Madame Mère, Princess Pauline, and Madame Bertrand, when these ladies had arrived on the island.

Napoleon's carriages were gilded and marked with the Imperial arms. The postilions wore green coats with green buttons, a red vest with gold braid, and a round hat with gold braid. The simple Elbans, for whom even an ordinary one-horse carriage was a rare sight, were astonished at all this grandeur.

Napoleon's standing order to the stables was : " The harness will always be ready for two carriages with six horses each, in case they might be required." They would seldom be brought out, as he knew very well, but he could not dispense with the fantastic illusions he obtained when giving such orders.

CHAPTER XI

THE FESTIVALS OF SAN CRISTINO, ST. GEORGE, AND SAINT NAPOLEON

ON the 31st May the Neapolitan warship *Laetitia* brought to Portoferraio Napoleon's favourite sister, the beautiful Pauline. She was still in poor health, and had to be carried in a sedan-chair from the quay to the Mulini Palace. Napoleon had hired for her a house within a few yards of his own, belonging to Vantini, one of his chamberlains, at a rental of £8 per month ; but it was being repaired, and Pauline did not take a fancy to it. Napoleon found room for her in the Mulini, but men were at work there also, and Pauline's nerves could not endure the noise they made. She went on to Naples on the 2nd June, promising to return later.

News came of the death of Josephine, which occurred on the 29th May at Malmaison. She had received the King of Prussia to dinner on the 24th, though suffering from a sore throat ; on the 26th she was so much worse that the Czar sent his physician to attend upon her. Her daughter Queen Hortense was with her at the end. The funeral ceremonies took place in the parish church of Ruelle, and were conducted with great pomp, a number of distinguished generals being present from the Allied armies. Napoleon had been at one time warmly attached to her, and was much distressed at the news. Josephine had been willing to join him at Elba, but pride as well as policy made it impossible for him to abandon the Imperial House of Austria.

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AN IMPERIAL REVIEW AT ELBA

From a Bourbon caricature of 1814

At this time there was in the harbour of Portoferraio a British merchant ship from Malta, which before the fall of the Empire had been captured by a privateer from Portoferraio and brought in. After Napoleon's arrival the Board of Health at Leghorn sent an application for the ship to be brought to Leghorn to undergo quarantine. There existed a long-standing feud between Portoferraio and Leghorn, and Napoleon's answer was to disembark the cargo and place it under a guard on the beach. Leghorn put Elba into a quarantine of twenty-five days, which was at once imitated by Genoa, Marseilles, Corsica, and very generally throughout the Mediterranean. Napoleon thereupon sent for Captain Roule of the Engineers, and ordered him to erect a lazaretto at the further end of the bay. Portoferraio being reached from the east before Leghorn, he expected his quarantine station in a magnificent natural harbour, far superior to that of Leghorn, to supersede the Tuscan port, and thus attract a large amount of shipping. The lazaretto was accordingly begun by Roule on a grand scale under the instructions of Napoleon, who watched its progress with great interest. In the meantime Elba was in general Mediterranean quarantine, cut off from normal relations with the rest of the world.

When the inconvenience and loss thereby occasioned to Napoleon himself, as well as to every other inhabitant of the island, had been sufficiently experienced, the Emperor asked Campbell to go to Leghorn and make certain representations, as from the Intendant-General of Elba. Campbell willingly complied, and on arrival at Leghorn, the necessary sanitary regulations having been complied with, he was permitted to communicate with the shore but not allowed to land. Campbell took no part himself in the quarrel, though he regarded the attempt of Napoleon to force the shipping world to give precedence to Portoferraio, with its fishing population of three thousand souls, over the great port of Leghorn, as an absurdity. Of course, Leghorn won the day, and Napoleon

had to abandon the works at the lazaretto when half-finished. This attempt to dictate to the traders of the Mediterranean was a Lilliputian repetition of the Continental system, with its defiance of the shipping world.

Pons[1] says that Napoleon's original intention was to make Porto Longone the grand quarantine station, and Portoferraio the ordinary station; and that when Pons observed that the communication between the two by sea through the straits of Piombino was not easy, Napoleon replied that he would excavate a canal between the two ports, across the island of Elba. Pons observed that the expense would be enormous, whereupon Napoleon said that it was to be supposed that the money due to him under the Treaty of Fontainebleau would be paid. Pons then remarked that the Directory had cherished the idea of making a similar canal near Hyères, at which Napoleon said: "Did the Directory have ideas?" He was evidently proud of this one. The necessary excavation would have been about five miles in length. The sum due under the treaty, £80,000 a year, even if there had been no other claims upon it, would have been utterly inadequate for the purpose, as Napoleon must have known, but he could not refrain from speaking as if he still had the resources of the Empire at his disposal.

The 29th May, a Sunday, was the fête day of San Cristino, the patron saint of Portoferraio, and therefore chosen for the festival of reception to be held in honour of the Emperor. He went in State to High Mass in the morning, in his gilded carriage drawn by six horses, with postilions and outriders, his escort of Lancers, and accompanied by his staff on horseback in their best uniforms; the Guard lined the route.

In the evening he went to the ball given him by the municipality of Portoferraio, in the same State, lighted by a great show of torches. The distance from the Mulini to the cathedral or to the town hall would occupy five minutes on foot; a carriage at a trot would cover the longer road for

[1] Pons, p. 293.

wheeled traffic in about the same time. Napoleon declared to Bertrand that he would have much preferred to go on foot, with him and Drouot for his only following; that it seemed a ridiculous fuss to make, but that "if he had not appeared before the Elbans in all the splendour which they expect in a Sovereign, they might not have believed in his Sovereignty, and in his own best interests that had to be prevented on every occasion when it might present itself."[1]

Thus Napoleon sought to justify himself before Bertrand, Drouot, and the other Frenchmen who had witnessed the Imperial State in Paris, to whom the Portoferraio efforts savoured of comedy. While he feared their secret contempt at the feeble display, he could not bring himself to dispense with such show as was procurable. It was by no means only for the Elbans.

The 4th June, the birthday of King George III, was celebrated by the British ships in harbour, H.M. frigate *Curaçoa*, Captain Tower, and H.M. brig *Swallow*, Captain James. The Royal Standard of King George was hoisted on the mainmast, that of Louis XVIII on the foremast, and the new flag of the Sovereign of Elba on the mizzen. The French frigate *Dryade*, and Napoleon's brig *Inconstant*, displayed the British flag. Captain Tower issued invitations for "an impromptu fête" at half-past five. A list of the persons to be invited had been obtained from the municipality, and an officer was sent on shore with the invitations, which he delivered at every door; he was instructed to enquire whether any names had been forgotten, until every presentable man, woman, and child had been included.

At nine Napoleon arrived, and was received by Captain Tower and his staff, while the sailors gave three cheers, which he acknowledged by taking off his hat. He went to the quarter-deck, where a circle had been formed, and the Emperor passed from one person to the next, repeating to each "the same insignificant questions which he generally

[1] Pons, p. 228.

asked on such occasions," says Pons. After the ball there was the usual supper, and Pons was disgusted at the behaviour of two tipsy English officers. "It is incomprehensible how a people which has almost attained to the highest degree of civilisation can fail to cure itself once and for all of this degrading malady," says Pons.[1]

The French garrison was now withdrawn from Elba. Most of the soldiers and under-officers left in a merchant vessel. The *Dryade* took the remainder, together with General Dalesme and his staff, and the higher French civilians. As they were about to embark Dalesme presented them to Napoleon. The ceremony, with Dalesme's speech of affectionate farewell, moved the Emperor deeply. He was touched to the quick, and failed to conceal his emotion. When the ship was at sea he watched it for a long time from the terrace of the Mulini garden, unattended, for he wished to be alone. Before moving away he gave the departing vessel a personal military salute. The action was observed by the courtiers standing back at a distance; it was in keeping with the broken words of farewell which he had found it so difficult to utter. He had lost his last connection with France, and was suffering indescribable sorrow.

General Dalesme, with his officers and men, were now the subjects of Louis XVIII, and yet it had been for them a pleasure as well as a duty to confer on Napoleon at Elba all the honours and consideration which they would have given him at the Tuileries. Henceforward such tributes would come only from persons in his own pay.

In preparation for his birthday, the 15th August, Napoleon sent Vincent, the chief groom, to Leghorn to procure the materials for making fireworks. Vincent was also to obtain wood for repairs to the wagons which had been damaged in carrying the materials for Napoleon's buildings; and he was instructed to obtain a lady's saddle, as like as possible to the saddle Marie Louise had used at St. Cloud when she

[1] Pons, p. 234.

rode a horse called "Fauteuil." Vincent was also—and this probably was the real cause of his journey—to deliver a packet of secret correspondence to a certain individual in Florence, a former grenadier. He went on the *Caroline*, Captain Richon, and bought a lady's saddle, with a stirrup in red morocco. He paid 700 francs for the antimony and other firework ingredients, a sum which he asserted was never repaid him. He went on to Florence, ostensibly because he could not obtain suitable wood at Leghorn, and duly delivered his packet.

Napoleon was expecting a visit from his mother, then at Rome. Algerian corsairs were from time to time seen in the Civita Vecchia direction, and accordingly Madame Mère travelled to Leghorn in order to obtain a passage in a British warship. She arrived there on the 29th July, at ten in the evening, with two coaches and six, accompanied by her chamberlain, the Corsican, Colonna d'Istria, the French General, Nansouty, and two ladies-in-waiting; she had a passport from the Pope in the name of Madame de Pont. From Rome she had been escorted by four Guards provided by her son Lucien, and from Pisa by four Austrian Hussars.[1]

She took up her quarters in the Hôtel Grande Bretagne, Via Ferdinanda,[2] now No. 19, Via Vittorio Emanuele, the last house but one at the harbour end of the chief business street, sometimes called the Corso of Leghorn. The former hotel is now let in flats.

Campbell was at Leghorn awaiting the arrival of Madame. He called upon her at the hotel, accompanied by Captain Battersby of the *Grasshopper*. Campbell says: "I addressed her as 'Madame,' and 'Altesse.' She was very pleasant and unaffected. The old lady is very handsome, of middle size,

[1] Manuscript Diary of G. B. Santoni in the Biblioteca Labronica, Leghorn, 29th July, 1814.

[2] The possessive form then in use in Tuscany, denoting the street belonging to Ferdinand.

with a good figure and fresh colour. She spoke much of the Empress Marie Louise, of her being at the baths of Aix, and of her bad health, with many signs and expressions of great regard, as if her separation from Napoleon was not voluntary on her part; she said that Marie Louise had expressed her intention of joining Napoleon in September." Letizia must have known that she was spreading false reports.

When, on the 2nd August, the party walked to the quay for embarkation on H.M. brig *Grasshopper*, Colonna, his hat off, escorting Madame, Battersby and Campbell escorting the ladies-in-waiting, a large crowd followed in silence. The distance from the inn to the quay is only some two hundred yards. When the shore was reached, as Letizia was entering the barge, there was an outbreak of hissing, hooting, and cursing.[1]

On the voyage Letizia told Campbell that Napoleon had been intended for the navy, but that when she visited him at his school at Brienne she reminded him that he would have to contend with both fire and water, whereupon he gave up the idea of following so dangerous a profession. She had forgotten the facts. The navy was given up for the army owing to a change in the inspectorship of the military colleges. It was not a voluntary act upon the part of Napoleon, nor was it occasioned by his mother's sudden fear of the sea; she had known for years that he was being prepared for a naval career. No doubt she made the remark she was referring to, as a consolation to Napoleon for the abandonment of the naval career.

Letizia complained to Campbell that the Minister of the Interior would not give more than £24,000 for her house, instead of the £32,000 she demanded, which was merely what it had cost her. The Minister wrote that if she would not take what he offered she would regret it, to which her reply was that she would never give up her rights or her

[1] Santoni, 2nd August, 1814. Campbell, p. 277.

property, or bend to the caprice of an individual. If the Minister took her house by force she would appeal to the Law Courts.

When the *Grasshopper* arrived at Portoferraio, Napoleon was not present to receive his mother ; he had waited all the previous day for her at the Mulini Palace, and had now gone to San Martino. She was much offended at his absence. She was met by Bertrand and Drouot and some officers of the Guard, the Mayor and other municipal officials, and Napoleon's grand carriage with the team of six horses, instead of the usual calèche and four he habitually used himself. She entered it with her ladies of honour, and passed through streets lined with soldiers, followed by another coach and six in which sat Campbell, Bertrand, and Drouot. The Vantini house is only a few minutes' walk, straight up stone stairways from the wharf. A sedan-chair would have been the best conveyance.

The Vantini house, hired originally for Pauline, had now been prepared for Madame. She brought her own furniture from Rome. With her two ladies-in-waiting, she established an Italian household, where Corsicans in particular were well received. She lived a quiet life, going out very little and seldom inviting a guest to her table.

Every Sunday she dined with Napoleon, and she spent many of her evenings in his house. Napoleon insisted on the greatest honours being paid to her. On Sundays, after his own reception, all the officials were sent to pay their respects to Madame Mère at the Maison Vantini. She received with dignity, as a true mother of kings ; many trembled before her who were not awed by the Emperor.

Madame Mère was forty-three years of age when the family left Ajaccio, and fifty before her son had risen to the position of First Consul. She was never anything but Corsican, and now that France had dismissed the family, she made no effort to conceal her preference for persons of her own nationality. She endeavoured to obtain for certain of her

compatriots the administration of the mine, the salt, and the fishery. Foiled in these attempts, she made a great effort to obtain the agency for the export of the iron ore for a so-called Corsican company, which consisted of a few Corsican relations. She found out the amount of the tender sent in by a Genoese company, and then offered better terms on behalf of her Corsican syndicate. Napoleon consulted Pons, pointing out that the Corsicans were all of them relatives of his own, and that they offered more than the Genoese. The reply of Pons was crushing. He said that he found it almost impossible to get any return from the Corsican proprietors of furnaces for the iron which they obtained; that the Grand Duchess Élise, Napoleon's sister, forgot to pay for what she received; that the Prince of Canino, Napoleon's brother, also could not remember; and that it was therefore most improbable that the syndicate of other Corsican relatives of Napoleon would ever pay anything. Napoleon burst into laughter and remarked: "That is what may be called plain speaking." The Genoese got the contract.

Napoleon not unnaturally considered that as his mother was wealthy, having saved plentifully from the handsome allowance he had been able to give her, she should pay her own way. He issued orders to the Grand Marshal that the rent of the Vantini House should be treated in the accounts as an extraordinary expense, which would not be renewed; and he wrote with regard to repairs, on the 6th September:

I see with pain that men are always at work on the Vantini House, which is all the more disagreeable seeing that it does not belong to me. It is proper that the note of the expenditure which has been ordered by Madame should be presented to her, so that she shall pay; that is the only way of making her abstain from ordering anything more, nothing being less urgent than all this raising of walls and placing of iron railings."[1]

[1] Registre, No. 64.

ELBA AS SEEN FROM THE TUSCAN COAST

From a contemporary print after a sketch by Sir R. C. Hoare

Napoleon was justified in declining to pay for his mother's iron railings, but he was rather hard on Pauline when later on she was living in the Mulini Palace. The Grand Marshal reported: "I have the honour to submit for the approval of Your Majesty the expense incurred for the eight blinds in the salon of the Princess Borghese. The cloth was supplied by the Princess. The expense amounts to 62 francs 30 centimes." The decision of His Majesty was: "Not having ordered this expenditure, which is not entered upon the budget, the Princess will pay. It will be the same with all expenses of this nature which are not approved before they are undertaken."[1] But if Pauline had proposed to take away the blinds for which she had paid, Napoleon would have protested.

Napoleon gave out that he expected his wife before the end of the month, and would prefer the celebration of his birthday to be postponed to the 27th August, the birthday of the Empress, but he well knew that Marie Louise was not coming, and afterwards decided that the fête should take place on his own birthday, the 15th August.

Portoferraio was determined to go to the utmost limit of expense to honour the King of Elba, though it meant a public debt for the municipality, and something like bankruptcy for the citizens, who spent far more than they could afford on the dresses of their ladies. "There were not," says Pons, "six families in Portoferraio whose fortunes were on a level with the sums which the unusual splendour of their wives cost." Some of the dresses then worn have been carefully kept, and are still occasionally shown to visitors. A beautiful costume had been bought for the fête of San Cristino, and it was impossible to wear the same dress again for the Imperial fête, for which indeed an even more luxurious dress was necessary; so there was nothing for it but the money-lender.

[1] Correspondance, No. 21670.

A large wooden ballroom was constructed in the Place d'Armes, and a triumphal arch was erected for a display of fireworks. A course was prepared just outside the town for a race-meeting.

The day began with salutes from the guns; then all the officials went to pay their respects to the Emperor, and from him they went to greet Madame Mère. Napoleon proceeded in State to Mass at the cathedral in his coach with six horses, as he had done at the fête of San Cristino. The Guard lined the square, but were unable to prevent the ladies from pushing past them to show themselves to the Emperor in their grand, ruinous dresses. They did the same at the race-meeting, for which horses had been imported from the Continent at great expense; the ladies were determined to display their finery, and placed themselves on the best seats, as close as possible to the Emperor. The race-meeting was a great success, but the fireworks were spoiled by a high wind. On a triumphal arch were the words "*A l'Empereur*"; the wind blew out several of the letters, leaving "*le Pere*," a most affecting incident, which created a sensation.

Illumination was general, and the rivalry in taste and brilliance of design was severe. Pons records, with quiet dignity:[1] "Mine carried away the prize. I say it with pleasure. I had eight windows in the front of my house. I had prepared wooden letters as large as the windows; a wooden anchor of Hope, twenty feet in length, projected from the centre of the line of letters; and each letter had above it a star which equalled it in size. The eight letters were dominated by a single letter, an A; these eight letters formed the name of Napoleon. All this woodwork was set out with tricoloured lamps as close together as possible. As soon as it was lighted the crowd flocked to my house, and honoured me with repeated applause. The Emperor was informed. The Emperor went to the house of the Captain of the Port,

[1] Pons, pp. 230–3.

which was opposite mine, and he gazed for a long time. Colonel Campbell declared that my allegory was too explicit. However, I knew nothing of the projects of the Emperor; indeed I do not believe that at that time the Emperor had any projects."

CHAPTER XII

VILLEGIATURA

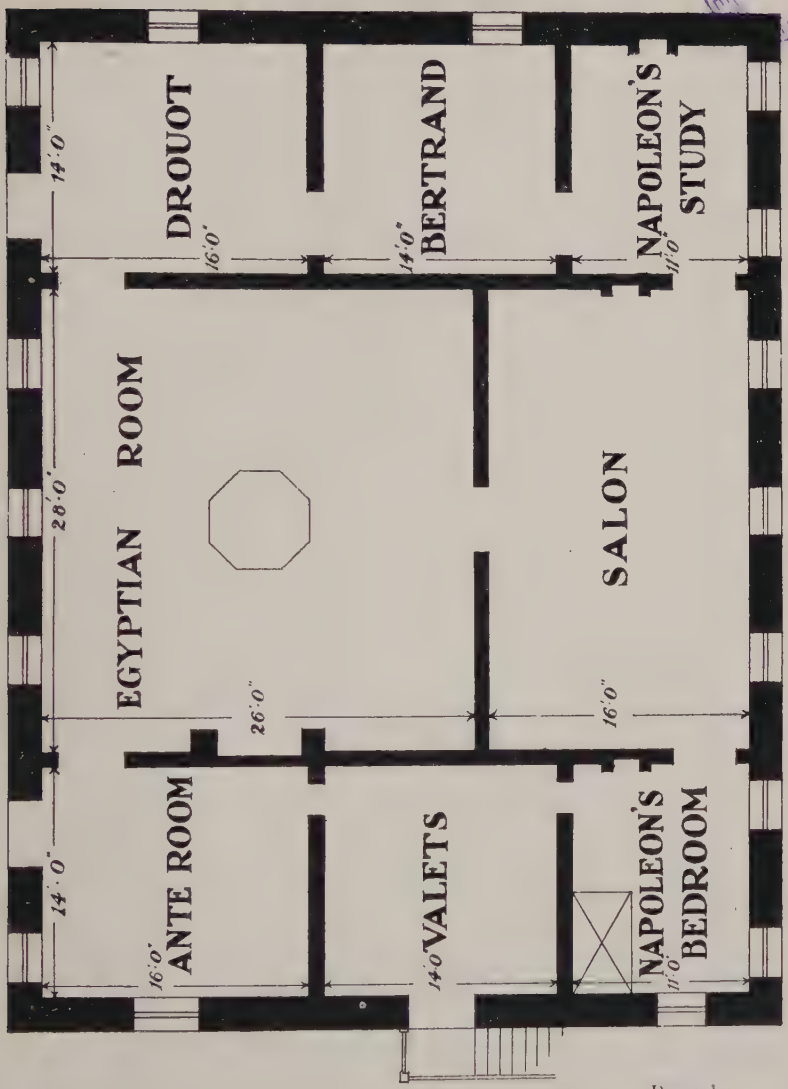
DURING her short stay at Portoferraio, from 31st May to 2nd June, the Princess Pauline made arrangements for the purchase of a country house. She told her brother that she wished to have a small property of her own. Napoleon thereupon, on the 1st June, went to inspect an estate situated upon the slope of the mountain San Martino, about three miles from Portoferraio. It was quiet and secluded, with hills on either side and at the back, and there were beautiful views of the town and harbour. The only buildings were a peasant's cottage and a storehouse. Napoleon enjoyed designing and superintending architectural alterations, and it was agreed that Pauline should buy the estate, and that while she was away at Naples Napoleon would have a country cottage constructed for her.

To clench the matter Pauline gave Bertrand a necklace of diamonds which was to be sold to provide the purchase money. Negotiations for purchase were entered upon. The value of such a property is calculated, without considering the buildings, from the return in grain, oil, and wine. The contadini, or peasants, cultivate the land, make the wine, grind the olives, and harvest the grain, and hand over to the padrone a half of the resulting produce. It was not till the 23rd June that an agreement was reached. On that day Napoleon gave Bertrand a bill for 56,000 francs, which Bertrand gave to Lapi, one of Napoleon's chamberlains,

SAN MARTINO

GROUND PLAN

DUNDEE CENTRAL FREE LIBRARIES



Drawn by
NORWOOD YOUNG

Scale 5 0 5 10 15 20 Feet.

for the proprietor, named Manganaro.[1] Napoleon also bought from time to time the adjoining properties.

The small house which Napoleon made out of the storehouse still exists, and except for an inner stair and the enlarged terrace, it stands now exactly as Napoleon left it. The exterior is singularly unpretentious, with the plain white-washed walls, green shutters, and red tiled roof of the ordinary Italian villa. On each side of the central door there are three windows on the ground floor, and there are seven windows above. Originally the building consisted of a ground floor with a loft above reached by an outside stone stair, a common Italian arrangement. In this case the store being built upon a slope, the loft was on a level with the ground at the back. Napoleon raised the roof, as he had done at the Mulini house, and thus obtained a suite of rooms on the first floor with entrances at the back, the rooms below, with entrance on a level with the garden, being used for a bath-room and the quarters of the domestics. He enlarged the front, and added a second outside stone staircase at the further end. There was no internal communication from the garden floor to Napoleon's apartments. The inconvenience of this arrangement was offset by the increased security it gave; there was only the back to guard. By way of further precaution the house was so designed that there was no entrance to any of the apartments occupied by Napoleon save through an ante-chamber. It is a curious fact that all the doors in the house are forty-five inches in breadth except the two leading to Napoleon's bedroom, which are narrowed to twenty-nine and thirty-one inches respectively.

When Napoleon drove up in his carriage by the fine broad road he had constructed, to the flat gravelled space he had opened at the back, he entered the house by an ante-chamber and passed through a twenty-nine-inch door to his dressing-room, where the valet slept on a mattress on the floor, and thence through a thirty-one-inch door to his bedroom.

[1] Peyrusse, Appendix, p. 132.

This has two windows, with a beautiful view to Portoferraio and beyond, including the coast of Italy, and looking down upon the little garden in front; and there is another window to the east. The room is only fourteen feet by eleven. Having the whole of the upper-floor area to dispose of, Napoleon deliberately carved out of it this small space for his bedroom, and an equally confined space for his study. These rooms were smaller than those about which he complained at St. Helena. He built fireplaces, which are very unusual luxuries at Elba, in these rooms. He preferred small rooms, where he could be warmer, and perhaps safer, than in the larger apartments. The walls of the bedroom are painted to give the appearance of a tent, in allusion to the campaigns of the great soldier, an idea which he carried out to its fullest extent at Malmaison, where one of the rooms is in fact a tent within walls. The ceiling is decorated with small squares, in which are represented alternately a bee and a cross of the Legion of Honour.

The door from the bedroom leads into the salon, which is sixteen feet deep and twenty-eight feet long, and has three windows looking towards Portoferraio. This room has a fireplace. On the ceiling are depicted two doves connected by a blue silk ribbon, with a large knot in the centre which is supposed to tighten as the doves become separated from each other—an allusion to Napoleon and Marie Louise. Besides his ever-present concern for appearances, Napoleon was struggling to keep up his own heart, hoping against hope that the allegory might ultimately justify itself.

Beyond this room was Napoleon's study, fourteen feet by eleven feet, with a fireplace, and the last two of the seven windows looking over Portoferraio.

The salon opens into the Egyptian room, the largest room in the house, twenty-six feet by twenty-eight feet. It is paved with marble slabs, and has in the centre an octagonal basin of marble, intended for a fountain, but the water was never laid on. There is a fireplace of an agreeable design.

The main decoration of the walls consists of Egyptian hieroglyphs of the colour of grey porphyry, which form the background for paintings of Egyptian columns, minarets, date palms, camels, an Arab encampment, a combat of Mameluke Cavalry, and Ethiopian women bathing. On the ceiling are the signs of the Zodiac, also in the prevailing grey tint.

Napoleon told Las Cases at St. Helena that "the best artists of Italy had competed for the honour of being entrusted with the work, and begged as a favour to be permitted to embellish the building." That is an absurd exaggeration, but the ornamentation is not unpleasing, and does not deserve the contemptuous criticism it has received. The designs were taken by the artist, Ravelli, in accordance with the instructions of Napoleon, from a large illustrated work on Egypt, published in 1809. They are faithful to the subject, the grey background is cool and pleasing, and if the colours of the figures are bright, that also is Egyptian in character. Though evidently not the work of a great artist, the whole effect is, perhaps for that reason, agreeably Oriental.

On one of the columns are the words, "Ubicumque felix Napoleo," a motto partly serious, expressing the capacity to take reverses philosophically, partly perhaps designed to reassure public opinion as to the Emperor's supposed intention to return to the great world. With the same idea medals are said to have been struck at Milan with the words, "Napoleo imperator et rex dominus Elbae ubicumque felix," but Campbell in spite of his searches was never able to come across an example.[1]

Opening out of the Egyptian room were two rooms for Bertrand and Drouot, or for Madame Mère and Pauline, without fireplaces.

On the ground floor were the kitchen and the servants'

[1] Pellet, p. 106, says they were quite common, but as none are now to be found the best authorities on numismatics suppose that the design was discussed but never executed.

quarters, and beneath Napoleon's bedroom was his bathroom, thirteen feet by sixteen. In it is still to be seen the solid white marble bath, twenty-six inches broad by sixty-six long, with a large soap-dish fixed in the wall, and just above it a painting of a naked woman—Truth examining herself in a small mirror held in her hand. There is a Latin motto here also, for on the mirror is written, " Qui odit Veritatem, odit Lucem " (Who hates the truth hates the light).

In the corner of the bathroom an opening was cut in the wall in 1881, by the then proprietor, Signor Giuliani, for a wooden staircase only two feet broad, with a rope railing to assist the climber. No heavy, corpulent person could have mounted these stairs with any comfort. To reach the bathroom from his bedroom Napoleon had to go out of the house by a door leading to the outer stairs, and so reach the garden floor.

Napoleon's favourite drive was from Portoferraio to San Martino, and a pleasant excursion it is. He spent some money and the labour of a dozen men of his Guard in repairing and enlarging the rough track that he found in existence ; and he constructed a new branch, with a small bridge over a stream, to enable his carriage to reach the back of the house. Until this was completed it was his custom to drive every afternoon as far as his carriage would go, to the base of the wall just below the house, and mount thence on foot to the terrace and little garden in front of the house. A giant nettle tree which he is supposed to have planted grows there, obscuring some of the upper windows of the villino. The views from the terrace were superb, but one of the later proprietors was so ill-advised as to erect directly in the line of vision a large building, which he intended to use as a factory for making champagne from the San Martino grapes. The project came to nothing, but the huge erection remains there, unused and unoccupied, to destroy the beauty of the landscape, which was the great charm of the place. On the hot summer days Napoleon would sit on the terrace watching

CONTEMPORARY PLAN OF THE SAN MARTINO ESTATE, 1814–15

the workmen, or he would go to a spot a little higher up where there was a spring of deliciously cold water, which he drank out of a small metal cup.

It has been questioned whether Napoleon ever slept in the Villa San Martino,[1] but the evidence that he did so, though we do not know for how long, is overwhelming.

On the 26th July he wrote to Bertrand: "Give orders to the architect that the three rooms in the Saint Martin house which face Portoferraio must be entirely finished on Saturday, that the windows and blinds must be then in position, and the rooms floored and painted, so that on Sunday we may send the curtains, an iron bed, and the necessary furniture. We shall then have there at once a *pied-à-terre*. If all this is not done the house will not be habitable when we need it."[2]

On the 30th he wrote to Bertrand that the raising of the roof of the Mulini Palace was to be commenced on the Monday following and finished on the Saturday: "It is possible," he says, "that I may come to sleep at Portoferraio from Thursday to Sunday,"[3] and for that reason he ordered that the scaffolding was to be on the side of the court only, and the work carried on from that direction, so as not to disturb him when his tent was placed in the garden.

The next letters are dated 4th August, and there are four of them, indicating that arrears had accumulated during his absence. In one of them he writes: "I send you the estimate of the work to be done at Saint Martin with the plans, that you may approve of them in the course of the day, so that the work may begin to-morrow."[4]

It may be concluded therefore that Napoleon was at San Martino from the 31st July to the 4th August. While

[1] "Le Temps" of 18th August, 1912, published an interview by Émile Henriot with Frédéric Masson, in which the well-known Napoleonic writer expressed his doubts on the point. He has repeated them in "Napoléon et sa Famille," Vol. X, p. 348.

[2] Registre, No. 34.

[3] Registre, No. 40.

[4] Correspondance, No. 21600.

he was away the roof was being raised at the Mulini Palace; immediately on his return the work at San Martino was pushed forward.

Another date of which we can be sure is the 12th November, for there is a letter to Drouot dated :—

"Saint Martin,
"12 *Novembre*, 1814."[1]

There are other references to San Martino which show that Napoleon lodged there at some time. In "L'île d'Elbe et les Cent Jours," on page 10, Napoleon says: "Before the end of the year Napoleon was passably housed. He had a pavilion at Portoferraio, another at Porto Longone, the villa of Saint Martin, to which he went sometimes, and the hermitage of Marciana, where he passed several weeks during the great heats." On page 23: "A great many English travellers of the highest distinction making the Italian tour, came to the island of Elba; they saw the Grand Marshal and General Drouot, who presented them to the Emperor, either when he was at the Villa Saint Martin or when he was at the pavilion of Portoferraio." Speaking of the plans for assassination he says, page 26: "Then they would besiege the Emperor in his villa of Saint Martin."

Peyrusse writes: "In the cellar of Saint Martin there was some wine. Being admitted, after my work with the Emperor, to the honour of dining with His Majesty and some Genoese, English, and Tuscans, he gave us in small glasses the honours of his wine, which we had to pronounce very good; and as it was characteristic of him to give everything the appearance of being extraordinary, His Majesty was pleased to tell his steward to designate the red wine under the title of 'Côte de Rio,' and the white under the name of 'Monte-Giove.'" Peyrusse knew and enjoyed good wine, and he complains: "These pompous names did not make the wine better. Moreover, the Emperor did not assist in the con-

[1] Registre, No. 128.

sumption of his wine, His Majesty drinking nothing but Chambertin. After dinner we went into the salon."[1] Napoleon was evidently residing at San Martino at this time.

The furniture which was placed in the house by Napoleon was dispersed after 1815. Nothing personal to the great man now remains, except the evidence of his enjoyment of beautiful scenery in his selection of the site, the mark of his taste in the design and decoration of the house, and the fact that he spent many afternoons and some nights on the property.

All the payments for the purchase and the improvements were made by Napoleon, but in the deeds of conveyance the name of the purchaser was not revealed. The natural result was that the property was considered to belong to the Emperor and that Pauline's title to it was never suspected. Napoleon treated the estate as his own, and spoke of it as such, and it was always supposed to be his. But when he was at St. Helena he declared that it should be regarded as the property of Pauline, and told Bertrand to write to her to that effect.

On the 26th April, 1821, a few days before his death, he dictated to Marchand certain "Instructions" in which the following statement appears :—

"I had in the island of Elba a small farm called Saint Martin, valued at 200,000 francs, with furniture, carriages, etc.; it had been bought with the money of the Princess Pauline; if it has been restored to her I am satisfied; but if that has not been done, the executors of my will should have it transferred to the Princess Pauline, if she is alive, and it will become part of my estate if she is not then still alive."[2]

But owing to the informality in the deeds of purchase Pauline was unable to obtain possession of San Martino. She died in 1825, and in her will she left "the villa and property of San Martino in the island of Elba to my nephew Napoleone, the son of the Emperor, my brother."

[1] Peyrusse, p. 254. [2] Montholon, Récits, II, 533.

The ownership, however, was still disputed. Peyrusse was appealed to, and he applied to Bertrand, who wrote to him as follows :—

"PARIS, the *27th April*, 1829.

"I reply, my dear Peyrusse, to the point in your last letter relating to the estate of Saint Martin. Napoleon made me write from Saint Helena to the Princess Pauline that she should claim Saint Martin as her property. At the request of Her Highness I addressed to her in 1825 a declaration of which I now annex a copy. The Princess never succeeded in making her rights to that small estate recognised. It appears that you have been applied to for information which might justify the conduct which has been held towards her. You were in ignorance, as also was M. Lapi, as to the real proprietor of that small property. The annexed paper will explain matters to you. Perhaps you have among your accounts the receipt M. Lapi gave me of the first sum confided to him for payment for Saint Martin. Receive, my dear Peyrusse, the assurance of my affectionate sentiments.

"BERTRAND."

"Declaration.

"I, the undersigned, certify and attest that it was in error that M. Lapi, who acquired, in 1814, the estate of Saint Martin and its dependencies, situated on the island of Elba, declared that he made the acquisition of that domain for the person of Napoleon, and I add, with all truth, that that acquisition was, though without the knowledge of M. Lapi, really made by him for the sole and proper account of the Princess Pauline Borghese, with the price of a certain number of diamonds which she had detached from her person when on the journey from France to Naples on the frigate *Cuirasseau*,[1] and which her Highness placed in my hands at the time that she was leaving the island of Elba, giving me

[1] Bertrand was mistaken. Pauline did not make the voyage in the *Curaçoa*, Captain Tower, but in the Neapolitan *Laetitia*.

at the same time the commission to acquire for her a property in the island. I certify in addition that M. Lapi, when he received the sum required in payment for the said estate, a sum derived from the price of the diamonds above mentioned, gave an undertaking in writing to recognise as purchaser and proprietor of the said estate the person whom I should indicate to him, when he should be required to do so by me, and that, in consequence, the deed of purchase should contain a clause saying that M. Lapi would on a future occasion make known the name of the new proprietor of the estate of Saint Martin.

" (copy)

" BERTRAND."[1]

In support of this declaration there is a sentence of the correspondence :[2] " As for Saint Martin, the Emperor not having decided whether the acquisition should be made in the name of the Princess Pauline or the Prince,[3] he will make the purchase upon a simple receipt of the sums advanced, which shall remain in the hands of the Grand Marshal." Again, in " L'île d'Elbe et les Cent Jours," there is a passage which runs[4] :—

" The Princess Pauline had bought vineyards and had constructed a pavilion or villa in the Italian style three miles from the town and in a charming situation ; she expected to become established there, but on her arrival from taking the waters at Naples, in September, her villa of Saint Martin, which had cost her 100,000 écus, not being completely furnished, she occupied an apartment in the Imperial Pavilion ; the architects had prepared for her several fine chambers."

Anglès, the Minister of Police, reported to Louis XVIII on the 3rd February, 1815 : " The Princess Borghese gives grand dinners in her country house at San Martino, where

[1] Peyrusse, pp. 251–2.
[2] Correspondance, No. 21567.
[3] Borghese, her husband.
[4] Correspondance, Vol. 31, p. 18.

Bonaparte often goes."[1] It is strange that the real ownership of the property should have been known in Paris and not to Napoleon's treasurer Peyrusse, nor to the Chamberlain Lapi who conducted the purchase, nor to the purveyor Foresi, who was consulted as to its value.

In the end the title of the duc de Reichstadt, the heir of both Napoleon and Pauline, was recognised. At his death in 1832, the estate went to his mother Marie Louise, Duchess of Parma, and on her death in 1846 it went as to three-fourths to Jerome, and as to one-fourth to the widow of Lucien. On the death of the latter in 1851 the whole was bought by Prince Anatole Demidoff, husband of Matthilde, the daughter of Jerome and niece of Napoleon. His intention was to keep the villa in its then condition, reminiscent of Napoleon, and to build close by a museum of Napoleonic relics.

The new building, which was planned by the Florentine architect, Niccolo Matas, is about two hundred feet long and twenty-three feet deep. The long front is ornamented with Doric columns and pilasters of yellow granite, supporting a frieze, in the metopes of which are alternately eagles, bees, and the letter "N." The interior consists of a long gallery supported by Doric columns, with a transverse gallery at each end. The floor is marble. The granite and marble are Elban.

Here Prince Demidoff placed a very valuable collection of Napoleonic sculptures, paintings, and objects of all kinds. Among the twenty pieces of sculpture were the statues of Letizia and Pauline by Canova and the bust of Napoleon by Chauvet. There were thirty pictures, including the well-known "Napoleon at Arcola" by Gros, and "Napoleon Crowned" and "Madame Mère," both by Gérard; also pictures by Steuben, of Napoleon and his son, and Marie Louise with the child, and works by Horace Vernet and Charlet. Among the smaller objects were bronzes, busts of

[1] Firmin-Didot, "Royauté ou Empire," p. 246.

Napoleon on foot and on horseback, vases of Sèvres porcelain, snuff-boxes, miniatures, medals, prints, books, autographs, a lock of hair from St. Helena, etc.

The whole of this valuable collection, with the precious relics, was sold by auction in the Palazzo San Donato, Florence, in 1880, by Prince Paul Demidoff, the nephew and heir of the founder. Prince Paul also disposed of the entire estate, which, after changing hands several times, now belongs to Prince Camillo Ruspoli.

Napoleon talked of making the San Martino estate produce much more than it had ever done. It should help to supply Elba with corn. His chamberlain Traditi, an experienced agriculturist, was summoned one day to San Martino to discuss its possibilities. Napoleon spoke as an ignorant optimist, and Traditi was too polite to offer any objections to his dreams, until the Emperor in his enthusiasm said that he would be able to sow five hundred sacks of wheat on the estate. Traditi, knowing that one hundred sacks was the utmost limit of what the property could carry, involuntarily exclaimed, "*O questa, si, che e grossa*" (Well, that is a good one). The Emperor changed countenance, and Traditi at once realised his want of manners, and began to stammer an apology, whereupon Napoleon burst out laughing, and attempted to console the poor chamberlain, who often afterwards was heard to regret his cursed *inconvenance.*

Napoleon received several shocks of that kind at Elba. When he enquired of a visitor from Piombino about the administration of his Sister Élise, asking what the Grand Duchess had done, the reply was, "She made love." After an instant's surprise, Napoleon said to him in a severe tone: "I am sure you know nothing about that."[1]

When Gottmann had his complaints to make he waylaid Napoleon in the road, and spoke in such loud, aggrieved tones that Bertrand threatened to have him arrested, while the Emperor spurred on his horse to escape the insult.[2]

[1] Pons, p. 256. [2] Pons, p. 267.

Napoleon failed to extort in Elba the abasement to which he had been accustomed in France. He encountered a sturdy independence of spirit which, in unguarded moments, would develop into an attitude of candid criticism to which no monarch of that day, and least of all the monarch of monarchs, had ever been called upon to submit. He was now an Emperor in name only, and the smallest of all kings. It was a galling situation, and one which he could not endure for long.

On one occasion at Rio a sergeant, seeing the fat little man with one foot in the stirrup and thinking he had some difficulty in mounting, seized him in the most unceremonious manner it is possible to imagine and hoisted him, in spite of his struggles and protests, with main force by a violent leap into the saddle. "Never do that again," said Napoleon, in a severe tone. Afterwards he thought his dignity would best be retained by construing the act as the result of too much zeal, and he made the sergeant a Lieutenant.[1] But such experiences were among the causes which led to his leaving the island. At St. Helena at least he was spared such trials.

Napoleon found that San Martino, though cooler than Portoferraio, was shut in and airless; it was a delightful spring and autumn residence, but in the stifling heat of summer a higher and more open situation would be preferable. He found what he wanted above Marciana Alta, a spot which he had remarked when he passed there on his expedition in May.

A little above Marciana Alta, at a point some 2500 feet above the sea, there is a clump of fine trees of the Spanish chestnut. Here there is a small chapel to the *Madonna del Monte*, and a small hermitage of four low rooms close by. Napoleon decided to take possession of the hermitage.

For a hot-weather retreat the position was excellent. It was inaccessible to the ordinary tourist, who merely wanted to stare at the great man, "as if I were a wild beast,"

[1] Pons, p. 285.

HERMITAGE OF LA MADONNA DEL MONTE

Where Napoleon stayed from 23 August to 14 September, 1814. From a photograph by Alberto Reiter, Portoferraio

said Napoleon. There was shade and water and privacy. The views were magnificent, across the sea to Corsica on the one side, houses at Bastia being plainly visible, and along the coast of Tuscany on the other. A little beyond the hermitage and chapel there are some huge blocks of granite, upon one of which the marks are still visible of the cement and masonry base made for the flag and semaphore erected by Napoleon. The site was admirably adapted for a signal station, enabling Napoleon to get into quick communication with Portoferraio. Naturally enough the flattened piece of rock is now spoken of as the "Sedia di Napoleone," the seat upon which Napoleon is supposed to have remained fixed for hours of melancholy contemplation, gazing at the land of his birth just over the water.

On the 23rd August, the day of his arrival at the Madone, he wrote to Bertrand as follows :—

"La Madone, 23*rd August*, 1814.

"Monsieur Count Bertrand,—I arrived at nine, it is five, and I am going out shooting. One does not feel the heat here, and the climate is quite different from that of Portoferraio. I find myself very comfortably established.

"I require two shutters for the windows of my bedroom ; the third window is provided ; try and send them to me to-morrow.

"Send me also two lanterns to put at the door of my tent, and a beacon. There are here three iron beds ; I am ordering one to be taken to Marciana for Madame.[1] There are fifteen mattresses with blankets and sheets ; that is just what is necessary. Madame can come to Marciana if she wishes ; she will be comfortable. She could leave on Thursday next at five in the morning ; my big boat will leave to-morrow with the orderly officer Bernotti to bring her.[2]

[1] Madame Mère.

[2] The route was by land to Procchio, thence by boat to Marciana Marina, then on horseback up the mountain, and finally in a sedan up the steepest part.

"Send off to-morrow one of her valets, one footman, and one maidservant, a cook and Cipriani, to prepare her house and her *déjeuner*. In the adjoining house Madame will have one room for herself, one for her ladies, one for her women, and one for her valets. If the sieur Colonna comes with Madame he will lodge in the town. It seemed to me that in the house there were all the necessary large pieces of furniture. There is enough linen for us both.

"I think there are enough kitchen things for Madame and me; I am ordering them to be taken down from here; there are also enough candles and candlesticks. Her two valets, two footmen, one cook and Cipriani seem to me sufficient for her establishment. The kitchen can be established in the same house.

"Send three curtains for the chamber of Madame, the rods are there already. Send us also fire-irons, tongs, shovels, etc. I think it is true, as we have been told, that we must have fires here in the evening."[1]

On the 26th he wrote to Bertrand describing Marciana as "unique in the island for fresh air and for water."

When Madame Mère arrived she went to the house in the village of Marciana Alta, which had been prepared for her. Thence she walked, or was carried in a sedan, up the rough path to the Madone, and took her *déjeuner* with Napoleon under his tent. They were in a Corsican landscape of gloomy rocks, with occasional clumps of chestnut trees, and in places covered by the variety of shrubs so famous as the impenetrable Corsican maquis, the natural lurking-place for brigands and vendetta murderers. Around them were broom, heather, and bracken, with juniper and other aromatic shrubs.

Soon after Napoleon's arrival at the Madone, on the 1st September, a vessel entered the Bay of Portoferraio, and instead of making for the inner harbour and quay, disembarked its passengers at the extremity of the bay. They

[1] Correspondance, No. 21615.

were expected; the ship had been observed approaching. Bertrand was on the spot with the Emperor's carriage and four, and six saddle horses, one of them having a lady's saddle. The passengers did not leave the ship till after dark, and Bertrand remained uncovered in the presence of one of them, a lady, who had with her a little boy aged four.

She was the Countess Walewska, and her child was the son of Napoleon. Her brother and a sister were also there. The party drove off in the dark, and when they had gone some way were joined by Napoleon, who had ridden down from the Madone to meet them; he entered the four-horse carriage. Further on they all had to ride, the Countess making use of the saddle which Vincent the groom had brought from Leghorn, ostensibly for the use of Marie Louise. So they mounted the steep path, each horse being led, and they were accompanied by men carrying torches, until the modest four-roomed hermitage was reached.

Napoleon first met the Countess Walewska on the 1st January, 1807, when his carriage stopped to change horses at the little village of Bronie, near Warsaw.[1] Among the crowd that had gathered to welcome the liberator of Poland there were two ladies, who became hemmed in by the numbers pressing on all sides. One of them contrived to attract the attention of Duroc, and begged him to extricate them, and also to place them where they could see the Emperor. Duroc took the ladies straight to Napoleon's carriage, and introduced them as desirous of expressing their homage. Napoleon received them graciously. The Countess Walewska thanked him warmly for what he was doing on behalf of Poland. Napoleon said he hoped to see her again, and the carriage drove off.

Marie Walewska, *née* Laczinska, was then aged twenty years. She was very pretty, a blonde, with blue eyes and a fair skin, the figure small, but well made. She was the wife of an old man some seventy years of age who had already survived

[1] Masson, F., "Marie Walewska, maîtresse de Napoléon I."

two wives and was the father of several children, of whom the eldest was nine years older than his present wife. But he was rich, and belonged to one of the most illustrious families of Poland, and the match had easily been arranged.

Napoleon met Madame Walewska again at a grand ball at Warsaw, and took much notice of her. He wrote her several ardent letters, to which at first he obtained no answer, until he concluded one of them with the words: "All your wishes shall be fulfilled. Your country will be dearer to me when you have had pity on my poor heart.—N." Still she hesitated, but finally gave herself to him under a promise that the sacrifice would be for the advantage of Poland. Henceforth, though disillusioned as to the promises for Poland, Madame Walewska was seldom far away from Napoleon, and finally, three years after the liaison began, on the 4th of May, 1810, she gave him a son, the little boy she had with her at Elba.

From that time till the fall of the Empire she was in Paris, where she had a comfortable hotel, and all the advantages to be derived from her situation as the mistress of the greatest man in the world. Napoleon was interested in his son. In the midst of his strenuous exertions during the campaign of 1814, he wrote to La Bouillerie, the treasurer, in his own hand: "I have received your letter with regard to the young Walewski. I give you a free hand. Do what is suitable, and do it at once. What interests me chiefly is the child, and afterwards the mother." He wished to make sure while he could that the boy would be provided for.

Napoleon was thirty-seven years of age when he saw the Countess Walewska. There had been a touch of romance in their meeting, and he was always attracted to her. She on her part, being still in her early youth, was at one time very much in love with him, completely under his influence, obsessed and overcome by his presence. "My thoughts, my inspirations, come from him and return to him," she said. "He is my happiness, my future, my life." She gave him a

gold locket with a secret opening, in which was a coil of her hair, and engraved upon it the words : " Quand tu cesseras de m'aimer, n'oublie pas que je t'aime " (When you have ceased to love me do not forget that I love you still).

She went to Fontainebleau after the abdication to see Napoleon, and remained waiting half the night outside his room. Twice he was reminded of her presence, but he gave no sign, and she had to depart without a message or acknowledgment of any kind.

Murat was under obligations to hand over to her, as guardian to her son, certain estates in the kingdom of Naples, but had neglected to do so. The Countess travelled to Italy to obtain her due, and from Florence wrote to Napoleon on the matter. On the 27th of July he instructed Bertrand to reply as follows : " You will address to Florence to the address that Cipriani will give you, a letter to the Countess Walewska ; you will tell her that we have learned with pleasure of her arrival at Genoa and at Florence ; that she should send news of herself and of her son by the medium of the person whom you will designate at Leghorn. She can send her letter addressed to you."[1]

On receipt of the letter from Bertrand, the Countess's brother, Count Laczinski, went to Elba on her behalf, and took back with him on the 9th of August Napoleon's permission to make the voyage. It was to give an air of mystery to the meeting and to avoid shocking the Elbans, that Napoleon went up to Marciana Alta and received his mistress there. He went there a few days before her arrival, and left a few days after her departure. It has been supposed that the secrecy with which the meeting was conducted had for its object to keep the affair from the ears of his wife ; but Marie Louise had always known of the intrigue, and it was certain that she would hear of its renewal, whatever precautions were taken. The Emperor considered that, while he was entitled to have a mistress if he pleased, and his

[1] Registre, No. 38.

doing so could not be kept secret in Court circles, it was essential that the affair should be, in theory, private, that nothing should be done to give it unnecessary publicity.

The result was that the Elbans believed then, and long afterwards, that the Emperor had been visited by Marie Louise. On hearing this Napoleon remarked: "Imbeciles. If it had been the Empress I would not have received her with so little decorum. I would have had her given the honours which are her due."[1]

At the same time Napoleon may not have been altogether displeased at the rumour. It was of advantage to him, as well as a consolation to his pride, that it should be supposed that the daughter of the Emperor of Austria was still a member of his household, though temporarily absent until the politics of Europe had been finally settled. If she had indeed been with him at Elba he might have contented himself with the position of a titular Emperor, husband of an Empress, and son-in-law of an Emperor. Vanity at least would have been soothed and, possibly, ambition quieted.

The Countess Walewska was therefore kept indoors, in the four-roomed cottage, during the whole of her visit, and she left as she had come, at night. Napoleon escorted her and her sister part of the way down the hill. She was met at Marciana Marina by her brother, with a ship, but the sea was too rough for embarkation there, and the party of four had to cross the mountains, in the darkness and a howling wind, to Porto Longone. It must have been a terrible journey. Napoleon was so alarmed by the gale that he sent down an orderly to Marciana Marina to counter-order the departure, but he arrived too late. At Porto Longone it was possible to reach the ship, and the Countess insisted on immediate departure in spite of the protests of all the local authorities, who declared the venture too perilous. When one remembers what a *burrasca* means in those parts, the determination of the Countess to risk the storm gives evidence of unusual

[1] Livi, "Napoleone all' isola d' Elba," p. 101.

courage, and complete submission to the will of Napoleon. She carried with her further orders from Napoleon to Murat to restore to her son the estates Napoleon had intended for him ; and Murat finally complied.[1]

In 1815 Madame Walewska was one of the first to hurry to Paris to salute the Emperor, and she was well received. After Waterloo she went to Malmaison to see him for the last time. Financial considerations may again have had their influence upon her, and the ardour of her devotion may have waned, but there was still on both sides some feeling of romance in their relations. But when Napoleon had finally left Europe, her husband being dead, the Countess married, in 1816, a cousin of the Emperor's, General Ornano. Napoleon at St. Helena was much distressed when he received the news. He had hoped that the Polish lady, who had come closer to his heart than any woman since the early years of his delirium for Josephine, would have remained true to him. But even she had given up the St. Helena captive as a being practically dead. In the instructions to his testamentary executors, dictated on the 24th April, 1821, Napoleon said : " I desire that Alexandre Walewski shall be reared in the service of France in the army." This son of Napoleon became the well-known statesman of the Second Empire.

[1] Masson, " Napoléon et sa famille," Vol. X, p. 355.

CHAPTER XIII

THE FORTRESS ESTATE

NAPOLEON had now an official residence at his capital, a country house, and a summer retreat. He thought it necessary to have residences also at Porto Longone, the second town in the island, and at Rio, the headquarters of the mining district.

After the departure of the Countess Walewska, he left the Madone and went to Porto Longone, where rooms were made ready in the citadel. He ordered certain repairs and alterations, which ultimately cost £334; and of these apartments he placed the Mayor of Porto Longone in charge, under the style of "Commander of the Palace of Porto Longone." He was also to exercise the functions of hall porter, keeper of the wardrobe, and superintendent of the gardens, combining these parts for a salary of £24 a year. There was to be a caretaker at a salary of £8 a year, and a gardener.

Napoleon brought his iron beds from Madone, but there was a deficiency of other furniture. He wrote to Bertrand :—

"PORTO LONGONE, *6th September*, 1814.

"MONSIEUR COUNT BERTRAND,—We are in need of ordinary chairs for all our establishments; you must decide upon a model for the chairs to cost five francs each, and a model for the arm-chairs and sofas at a price in proportion, and buy them at Pisa, to the amount of 1000 francs. Choose the most suitable models from those they make at Pisa."[1]

[1] Correspondance, No. 21630.

PORTO LONGONE IN 1814

From a contemporary print after a sketch by Sir R. C. Hoare

The chairs and sofas were to be common and cheap, costing no more than £40 altogether.

For his fifth and last palace Napoleon took, without payment, the home of the Administrator of the mines at Rio Marina. Pons writes: "The Emperor authorised me to prolong my residence in the Imperial Palace" (his own house), "but the masons were at work upon the apartments, and I could not get my family to sleep amongst the débris." Most of the visitors who were received at Portoferraio by Napoleon, or by Bertrand, were sent on to Rio with introductions to be shown the mines. Pons had a special allowance for their entertainment. The small house into which he had now to move was not suitable for the reception of guests while the Pons family was in residence. A party of distinguished English visitors arrived one day, under the escort of the Grand Marshal himself, sent by Napoleon. Bertrand found that there was not proper accommodation for them in the small house, which they had to share with the Pons family. He reported this to Napoleon, who thereupon authorised Pons to return to his old house which the workmen had now left, and to reside there permanently during the absence of the Emperor. The small house could be used for the reception of visitors, and the administrator would return to it whenever the Emperor was in residence at his Rio palace.

In a north-east wind there was no shelter for ships at Rio Marina; anchors had to be raised and a refuge sought at Porto Longone. The wind would continue in the same quarter for days, when communication with the Continent being impracticable, the mining industry became disorganised. Before Napoleon's arrival a project for the creation of a harbour had been considered, but abandoned. Napoleon was attracted by the problem. He went on the water in a row-boat and stood up to make the soundings with a long pole and, in the deeper water, with rope and plummet. The day was cold and he sprinkled himself

plentifully with water, and as he was no longer very firm on his legs the oscillations of the boat upset his balance, much to the alarm of his attendants, who were relieved when at last he landed and went off on horseback, cold and wet as he was, for Longone.

Installed in his Longone palace, he drew up a complete plan for the new harbour at Rio. He would make a strong mole of stone, and a jetty of pontoons stretching to a rock, with a prolongation beyond it, and he marked the sites he had selected for the sanitary and other offices. He also went carefully into a project, which others had examined before him, for making blast furnaces to treat the ore as it was obtained from the mine, and so save the freightage for the crude ore, and retain the profit from the process of manufacture. It was proposed to dam a stream above Rio and thus obtain water power. Nothing came of these plans, either for the harbour or for the furnaces.

There was a small rock or islet named Palmajola, lying about four miles from Rio Marina, in the dangerous waters between Piombino and Elba. Upon it a tower had been erected for defence against pirates. Napoleon went in his boat to examine it, and finding it still serviceable, gave orders for the necessary repairs, for two guns to be mounted, and for a small barrack to be erected. This work he actually carried out, and thus obtained a small but important sea fort, similar to the Scola fort off Pianosa.

The forts at Portoferraio were also repaired, and a considerable number of additional guns were brought, with other military stores, from the citadel of Porto Longone. The main points were thus made secure. Portoferraio, defended by well-armed and well-placed forts, was very strong, both on the land and the sea side, quite capable of beating off a considerable besieging force in both directions.

The small Palmajola fort would make the Piombino channel more than usually unpleasant for an enemy, and, moreover, it might in the last resort prevent interference

with an escape to Tuscany. Pianosa, when the fortifications were completed, with its little seaport of Scola was another obstacle to an enemy, and also a possible refuge. Campbell was much disturbed at Napoleon's fortifying Palmajola, Scola, and Pianosa, and certainly these works, besides increasing Napoleon's powers of defence, also provided opportunities for secret communications and escape.

Napoleon also enlarged the Land Gate at Portoferraio. Until that was done the opening was only large enough for pack-horses, and when he wished to drive in his carriage from the Mulini Palace into the country he had to make a long round to the Water Gate, and thence along the quay in order to emerge from the town.

In 1810 a road had been commenced to connect Portoferraio with Longone. Napoleon made plans for finishing it, and extending it to Rio. He also ordered surveys to be made for a road to Procchio, Marciana, and Campo.

But his first concern was to provide communications for his carriage from his Mulini palace to the San Martino house. Upon this road he employed a dozen soldiers of his Guard.[1] When the most important section had been made fit for his carriage he ordered it to be enlarged, that he might be able to drive along it at night without danger, and that two carriages should be able to pass each other in any part. For this purpose: "As this road is the most necessary one for me, I should not be indisposed to take for it the 4150 francs which have not been spent on the road to Procchio."[2]

On the road to Longone some work was done. "As it is possible," he wrote to Bertrand, "that I may go on Wednesday or Thursday to Porto Longone, I desire that my carriages may pass easily and without risk." Of the Campo road he said, in the same letter: "I desire that my carriages may be able to pass in about a fortnight." And with regard

[1] Letters to Bertrand, 3rd July and 25th December, 1814; Registre, Nos. 16, 148.
[2] Letter to Bertrand, 3rd November, 1814; Registre, No. 123.

to the streets: "I desire that the streets of the town should be cleared of all rubbish with which they are encumbered. The architect will be charged with that. He will obtain a contract for the reparation of the pavement of the streets, the removal of the rubbish, the chipping of all the pavements, so that the streets through which I pass on my way either to the Land Gate or the Sea Gate, to the church or to the town hall, shall not be slippery, and that there may be no danger." Again: "The road must be paved as far as the windmill, as it is the principal approach to my house."

He made it quite plain that all these improvements were for his own safety and comfort. He would pay only half the cost, the municipalities contributing the other half. "The expenses of the route of Porto Longone will be liquidated and reduced to a reasonable sum, and I will take the half." . . . "Give orders that the road from Procchio to Marciana shall go by Poggio. I will take half the expense and the communes of Marciana and Poggio will take the other half." "Give orders that work is also to be done on the road from Porto Longone to Rio. I will take half the expense and the communes the other half."[1]

As the communes were unwilling to contribute anything either in labour or money, Napoleon issued peremptory commands. "Give orders that the half of the funds which lie in the municipal treasury of Marciana shall be allotted to the construction of the Marciana road, and that something is given to the poorest of the men who comprise the corvée."[2]

The order appears not to have been carried out, or to have produced very minute results. "As for the 100 francs advanced by the commune of Marciana there can be no question of returning them," he wrote later to Bertrand.[3] The Elbans concluded that as Napoleon wanted the road for his own use, he might be left to bear the expense. They were

[1] Correspondance, Nos. 21576, 21567, 21582.
[2] Letter to Bertrand, 11th July, 1814; Registre, No. 18.
[3] Letter to Bertrand, 2nd October, 1814; Registre, No. 36.

not asking for improved means of transit. Napoleon thereupon pointed out in a letter to Bertrand that the Marciana road would be "very advantageous to the two villages for their communications." But this argument failed, and much discontent was aroused.

Campbell writes, 5th June: "Napoleon continues in the same state of perpetual movement, busy with constant schemes, none of which, however, tend to ameliorate the condition of his subjects. He has ordered several pieces of road to be improved for the conveyance of his carriage, without any other object, and new ones to be executed, and appropriating no funds for the payment of the peasants who have been hastily assembled on the requisition of the mayors. He has even employed his own Guards, who came from France, on fatigue duties, such as destroying houses for the improvement of his own residence, and working upon the pavements of the streets. This has given great disgust." "Napoleon appears to become more unpopular on the island every day, for every act seems guided by avarice and a feeling of personal interest, with a total disregard to that of others. The inhabitants perceive that none of his schemes tend to ameliorate their situation. The cries of '*Vive l'Empereur!*' are no longer heard."[1] That was written within a month of Napoleon's arrival, and the relations between the new monarch and his subjects did not improve with time.

Pórtoferraio, though a strong fortress, was insufficiently supplied with water, and Napoleon spent some money in endeavouring to obtain water from the mountains, but the works were stopped by his order in January, 1815. There were two cisterns for the garrison of the Étoile fort. Napoleon gave orders that one of them was to be at the disposal of the inhabitants at a fixed hour, twice a day.[2] The other he took for himself entirely. "The water can easily be brought into my garden, and I reserve it for my own use."[3] He made some

[1] Campbell, p. 248. [2] Registre, No. 83.
[3] Correspondance, No. 21567.

important sanitary regulations for Portoferraio which were to be enforced by fines.[1]

Regarding Elba as a fortress, the next consideration was the victualling of the island. In an ordinary season Elba produced grain sufficient for two months only. If Pianosa were properly cultivated a supply for five months more would be obtained, leaving five months still unprovided for.

There is a piece of flat land on the south of the island, known as the plain of Acona, which in the time of Napoleon was marshy, but when properly drained would have been suitable for the cultivation of wheat. Napoleon talked of sending to Lucca for the labourers, the Elbans, like the Corsicans, being too proud and too lazy to do ordinary field work. With Lucchese he calculated that Acona could be made to produce grain to last two months. For the remaining three months grain would have to be imported. The chief agricultural export from Elba was wine. Napoleon ordered an account to be prepared showing the amount of wine exported in each year for the previous ten years. This was done, though the figures could hardly have been correct, as there were no reliable statistics available. They showed that the wine exported could be exchanged for grain sufficient to last three months.

In these various ways the island could have been provided with grain for the whole year. But nothing was done either at Pianosa or Acona. Napoleon had enjoyed making the calculations; he spoke of them to Pons as "this satisfaction of my heart."[2] Having obtained his satisfaction there was no need for anything further. Perhaps he remembered that his father had wasted a large amount of money, far more than he could afford, in draining certain salt marshes near Ajaccio. When Napoleon wanted to victual Portoferraio against a possible siege, he imported the necessary grain.

Napoleon tried to induce the Elbans to grow potatoes, as yet almost unknown on the island, and he went among

[1] Correspondance, No. 21567; Registre, No. 11. [2] Pons, pp. 297, 310.

the small proprietors, urging them to cultivate cauliflowers, onions, and other vegetables. Pons writes: "I have heard the Emperor teaching my gardener how to produce a constant succession of good radishes, and good salad. When and how could the Emperor have learned that?"[1] Napoleon may have understood both French and Italian vegetable raising. French gentlemen have always taken an interest in the subject, and Napoleon's father was a pioneer who imported French seeds into Ajaccio for raising new kinds of vegetables then unknown in Corsica. There is a list of them in Carlo di Buonaparte's account-book,[2] with the dates for sowing.

Napoleon, like his father, was a believer in the value of the mulberry. He imported a large number of mulberry trees at his own expense. The cost of planting he placed upon the municipality. He pointed out that as the trees were to be planted in the streets, the town would obtain a revenue from the sale of the leaves, and so should bear part of the initial expense. Other plantations were to be made along the roads, first, of course, on the San Martino semi-private road. A few of these trees have survived to this day.

Napoleon's father planted many mulberries in a nursery near Ajaccio, under the encouragement of Louis XVI. Napoleon, as a young Lieutenant, wrote out petitions demanding, on behalf of his widowed mother, certain moneys which his mathematics enabled him to calculate were still due from the King. The encouragement the Emperor gave to the silk industry of Lyons, and the hold he thereby obtained upon the affections of that great city, were thus connected with his father's mulberry plantation.

Napoleon imported from Corsica a quantity of cuttings of the olive, and also a number of young chestnut plants. The olives were to be planted in the warm valleys and upon the lower slopes of the mountains, and especially among the vines, to displace the figs, which throw too much shade and thus prevent the grapes from ripening properly. The Elbans

[1] Pons, p. 291. [2] In the possession of the Earl of Crawford.

were hard to convince, declaring that the climate was not suited to olives, their real complaint being that the olive takes longer than the fig to become profitable. Napoleon argued the matter out with the cultivators in their fields, and was delighted when he had made a convert who would be willing to plant olives if given them for nothing. The chestnuts were for the upper parts of the mountains and the northern slopes. Napoleon also had great schemes for covering the mountains with pines from the Black Forest. He spoke of planting the oak and acacia close together, the quick-growing tree to be cut down when the slow oak had begun to require more space; but nothing came of these projects.

Napoleon talked of making Elba a world centre of art and science, and proposed to return to the name Cosmopoli, given originally to Portoferraio in commemoration of Cosimo de Medici. It was a fine idea and one which he could have carried out. He might have made his little kingdom a home for all peaceful arts, exchanging the part of Cæsar for that of Mæcenas. He talked of establishing a factory or school for the exploitation of the valuable Elba marbles. He sent for a sculptor from Carrara to be placed at the head of the establishment. When he arrived, Bargigli by name, Napoleon at once impressed him as architect at San Martino. The Elban marble was handed over to his assistants. Napoleon bought some of their work and recommended it to others. There ended his scheme.

He did not desire that the Elbans should learn French. He dismissed the teacher of French in the public schools and appointed in his place a professor of drawing and the fine arts. Bartolini, the sculptor, of Florence, was nominated, but the salary of 1200 francs (£48) was not a sufficient inducement, and he declined the post. No other person being appointed, the schoolchildren were taught neither French nor drawing, and Napoleon saved the money.[1]

[1] Letter to Bertrand, 18th July, 1814. Registre, No. 26. Pons, p. 144.

GENERAL VIEW OF PORTOFERRAIO IN 1814

From a contemporary aquatint in the collection of A. M. Broadley

Nearly the whole of his expenditure on improvements was directed to works designed for his own comfort and safety. From some of it the Elbans also would derive benefit, from the paving of the streets, the new roads, the improved water supply, the planting of trees. But his first concern always was for his own advantage. He regarded Elba as a fortress in which he could find shelter, and an estate from which he could derive enjoyment. So he prepared for himself five residences in different parts, made roads for the passage of his carriage from one house to another, and strengthened the fortifications of Portoferraio, Pianosa, and Palmajola. The water was primarily for his garrison, the roads were personal or strategic.

In care and consideration for those under his charge Napoleon was not up to the standard of his time, for even his contemporaries, and the ignorant Elbans themselves, were struck by the purely selfish nature of his undertakings. We are not entitled to assume that if he had remained longer at Elba, and had been free from all pecuniary uncertainties, there would have been any substantial change in the principles by which he was governed. He would have continued as he had begun. He would have built bigger palaces, and would for ever have been repairing and changing them; he would have had a larger army, stronger forts, and a more powerful navy; he would have constructed more strategic roads; he would have obtained grain for the garrison by purchase; he would have increased the number of officials connected with the Government; he would have had more personal attendants with high-sounding titles, and a greater display of Royalty. Any advantage that the Elbans might have derived from his presence among them would have been accidental.

CHAPTER XIV

FINANCE

IT was generally believed that Napoleon's resources were insufficient for his needs. Campbell reported, 12th November, 1814 :—

"If pecuniary difficulties press upon him much longer, so as to prevent his vanity from being satisfied by the ridiculous establishment of a Court which he has hitherto supported in Elba, and if his doubts are not reassured, I think he is capable of crossing into Piombino with his troops, or any other eccentricity. But if his residence in Elba and his income are secured to him, I think he will pass the rest of his life there in tranquillity." Campbell notes the sale by Napoleon of the ten months' provisions which had been left in store by the French troops ; makes several references to the sale of the guns, shot, and shell found in the fortress of Porto Longone ; and reports that Madame Bertrand said to him that Napoleon "has scarcely a shilling, not even a ring to present to anyone, and his situation is frightful." He continues, 18th November : "There has been a further reduction of servants and other expenses of Napoleon's household for the sake of economy." 3rd December : "In order to raise the money he has, within the last few days, sold a large public building in this town, formerly used as a soldiers' barrack, for 1500 francs." December 10th : "The Intendant-General of the island of Elba informs me that Napoleon's troops and vessels cost him one million of francs per year, while all his sources of revenue, including the

contributions, will not net four hundred thousand this year. In addition to the discharging of a number of servants lately he has reduced to one half the salary of his surgeon, treasurer, and some others who hold civil appointments in his household." 27th December: "It is reported in this island, and at Leghorn, that proposals have been made by Napoleon to the Duke of Tuscany for the sale of his brass guns. He has lately sold some provisions which were in store in the fort of Longone." February: "For some time past Napoleon has suspended his improvements, as regards roads, and the finish of his country residence. This is, I think, on account of the expense. Some of the roads, as well as a bridge, built entirely for his own use, and unconnected with the public, have yet by his order been paid for entirely by the inhabitants.[1] A Council of State was lately held at Portoferraio to determine whether the town house (*Hôtel de Ville*) can be sold for his private emolument, but as the opinions were divided the project has not yet been carried into execution."[2]

Napoleon's proposal to sell the town hall, as the property of the Government, that is himself, shows how catholic was his estimate of what belonged to him. One of his first orders was to make Lapi "Director of the Domains, that is to say, the forest of Giove, the two forests near Volterraio, the property of Saint Martin, and all the workable and cultivable lands which surround the salt marshes and other parcels of land on the island which belong to me and to which I am entitled, finally all that relates to the domain of Pianosa." Lapi is instructed to "discover and take over all other property on the island which belongs to the Emperor, examine all claims, re-enter into possession of all that is vague or may have been usurped."[3]

[1] Campbell was mistaken. Napoleon had to bear most of the expense himself. Campbell's remark shows the feeling on the island at Napoleon's effort to obtain contributions.

[2] Campbell, pp. 319, 321, 325, 344, 348, 354.

[3] Correspondance, No. 21567.

All forests he considered to belong to him, and all useful land in the neighbourhood of the salt marshes, and any person who had the temerity to claim a share in such property would have to prove his case.

He writes on the 10th September :—

"I desire to know whether the peninsula of Insola belongs to me, as many persons say, and what is the size of the isthmus; I would desire to close it so as to be able to place there boars and deer."

Three days later he wrote to Bertrand :—

"I desire to acquire the Capo di Stella for a shooting preserve. I desire to close, as soon as possible, the isthmus, which I beg you to have completely walled in."[1]

He ordered an estimate to be made of the cost of the wall, with a good ditch in front and a guard house. The isthmus was a thin tongue of land projecting into the sea, on the south of the island. Napoleon had already "acquired" the plain of Acona, which adjoined the Stella promontory. There is no reason to suppose this land belonged to him, more than any other land, but it was worth little and the proprietors had to submit to the spoliation, which was theoretical only; for the fields of wheat and preserves of game were among the numerous visions with which Napoleon amused himself, and which came to no practical result. Pons says that although Napoleon did not believe in the word impossible, he failed to obtain so much as a rabbit, though he sent to Corsica for that wild animal.

To Drouot he wrote on the 7th May: "The sub-prefect has knowledge of a store of wheat belonging to the Grand Duchess of Tuscany. Some of it has been sold, some of it remains. The money has been placed in the hands of the

[1] Correspondance, Nos. 21634, 21640.

treasurer. A claim should be made, for it belongs to the Crown. Look into the matter, ascertain what remains, and speak to the sub-prefect about it."[1] If the grain had actually been the private property of the Grand Duchess, his sister Élise, in whose domains Elba had been included, he was robbing her, but, as he remarked when he took the furniture out of her Piombino palace, and the other furniture belonging to his brother-in-law, Prince Borghese, "it does not go out of the family."

"It will probably be necessary to take the storehouse of M. Senno. The Commune must make an agreement with him and give him some property in exchange."[2] Senno was farmer of the revenue from salt and fishery, and a man of substance, who according to Pons "had resources to replace what was taken from him." The store in question was at first intended by Napoleon for his lazaretto, and might thus be regarded as a building dedicated for the public service, which the Commune should pay for by giving the owner something in exchange. Napoleon's principle was that all public buildings such as barracks, chapels, town halls, were his own personal property, to be sold or otherwise disposed of as he might think fit, but that a building seized by him, if intended for a public purpose, should be paid for by the public; then it also became his private property, and therefore saleable by him.

The salt and fishery stores belonging to Senno were converted into stables for the Emperor's horses and carriages. Colonel Vincent says that Napoleon took these buildings without paying for them. Pons attempts to dispute this, but is not convincing. He says that "for his horses the Emperor took by assault the vast stores for fishery and salt," but that after an interview between Napoleon and Senno "the cession took place by common accord." Napoleon in fact threatened to deprive Senno of his monopoly, and the

[1] Correspondance, No. 21566.
[2] Correspondance, No. 21582.

contractor, having "resources to replace what was taken," submitted to the seizure of his property.

Soon after his arrival, Napoleon sent the tax-gatherer to collect the contributions which were in arrear from 1st September, 1813, to 1st May, 1814, the eight months which preceded his possession of the island. He had no right to the money, and the Elbans refused to pay. Campbell says: "In riding lately near a village I saw a collection of the inhabitants insulting the tax-gatherer, with shouting and the sound of horns. He has been informed that he will be again sent back very soon to levy the contributions, and that a hundred of the Guards are to accompany him, to live upon the inhabitants at free quarters until the required sum is paid."[1]

It was at Capoliveri that the greatest resistance was offered. The tax-gatherer was assaulted and driven off. Napoleon sent a dozen gendarmes and ten mounted police under Paoli, with instructions to lodge in the houses of the leaders of the revolt until the money was paid; but the people of Capoliveri, headed by their priest, drove out the police. The Emperor was indignant; he reproached the police for their failure, saying that he had imagined that they were courageous Corsicans, but found they were cowards. He sent Major Colombani with two hundred men to escort the police back to the rebellious village. In his order to Drouot he wrote:[2] "Each man will have three packets of cartridges. Major Colombani will arrest the priest who has been the leader of the riot, and two others. He will remain with his column at Capoliveri until the contributions are paid. He will find lodgings with the fifty inhabitants who are most in arrears. The sieur Bigischi, secretary-general of the Intendant, will go there with a letter from the Intendant to establish the fact of the bad behaviour, arrest three chiefs of the revolt, and compel immediate payment of the con-

[1] Campbell, p. 248.
[2] 16th November, 1814; Registre, No. 129.

tributions ; otherwise it may be the worse for Capoliveri. He must make the town understand that. He must manage so as to arrive only an hour before the troops, and if the local notabilities are able to induce the inhabitants to be reasonable the police alone will enter the town."

On the arrival of the Emperor's commissioner, the mayor was able to preside over a meeting of the Municipal Council, but these notables declined to assist in any way, declaring that they could not compel any payments nor give the names of the delinquents. Then the soldiers presented their imposing force, and the money was immediately forthcoming.

Rio Montagne also declined to pay, but Napoleon shrank from the publicity which would attach to any violent measures against so important a community, with its cosmopolitan connections. He ordered that the arrears should be carried as a debt against the pay of each workman, and should so be gradually paid off.

The total of the arrears collected with so much trouble and without any right, was only 2282 francs, or about £90 ; and the whole of the proceeds of the tax, including these arrears, obtained by Napoleon during his sojourn at Elba, was only 21,666 francs or about £850.

So unpopular was the tax that a priest was sent by the inhabitants to enquire of Campbell whether he would take charge of a petition to the British Government, asking for protection against the exactions of their Sovereign. Napoleon's efforts to obtain labour without pay, or at reduced rates, and his relentless exaction of taxes for periods preceding his legal right, turned his subjects from their rapturous welcome to feelings of bitter hatred.

Napoleon demanded from Pons a sum of 50,000 francs which was in his possession on account of the working of the mine previous to the 11th April, 1814, the date of the Treaty of Fontainebleau. The produce of the Rio mines had been, by Imperial Decree of the 23rd March, 1809, allocated to the Legion of Honour ; to that organisation,

therefore, this money belonged. Napoleon, however, had no hesitation about depriving his valiant soldiers of what belonged to them. He sent Drouot with orders to get the money from Pons and the Legion of Honour. Pons said: "I shall act according to my conscience," a remark which Drouot could but applaud; he comforted Pons by observing that "the conscience is the best of all guides."[1] Bertrand, on the other hand, had little understanding of such scruples and supported the rapacity of Napoleon. Pons was taken by Bertrand before the Emperor, who said in a severe tone: "Why do you not hand over to me this money?" Pons remarks in his account of the scene: "The nature of my character makes me well fitted to cope with such a situation. I replied that the money belonged to the French Government whatever might be that Government." Napoleon looked fixedly at him, shrugged his shoulders, and turned his back. He was dismissed, and Bertrand said to him: "You have wounded the feelings of His Majesty."

From that time Pons declares that he was treated by Napoleon to every kind of annoyance and humiliation. Napoleon often remarked that the Grand Marshal of the Palace, Duroc, never said no to him. As Pons observes, Duroc's method was to say: "Yes, sire!" and go away; then later he would explain, if called upon (which was not always the case), why he had not done what had been ordered, and Napoleon would make no complaint, though with anybody but Duroc he might have been enraged at finding he had not been instantly obeyed.

It was now known throughout the island that an official in Napoleon's employ had refused to deliver up money which had been demanded, and there were not wanting courtiers to insinuate that Pons would not have dared to act with such independence towards the Emperor of the French. Pons observes: "The Emperor was tortured with the idea

[1] Pons, p. 85 *et seq.*; Pélissier, Registre, pp. 92, 96; Campbell, p. 250; Peyrusse, p. 241.

DUNDEE
CENTRAL

DROUOT

From a contemporary engraving

that he was being belittled. He leaned even more upon his imperial grandeur than upon his military glory. Perhaps he was right. His military glory was an immortal and accomplished fact which nothing could destroy nor diminish, which would be celebrated, independent of human vicissitudes, as the apanage of future centuries. It was not the same with his imperial grandeur. However immense that may have been, fate had broken it, and he alone, the man, the great man, remained superior to events. It was above all the man whom one respected in the Emperor." This shrewd analysis of the psychology of the great soldier, who was incidentally a fallen Emperor, is a helpful explanation of the sensitive tenacity he exhibited in insisting upon the retention, to the utmost possible extent, of the forms and ceremonies, the adulations and genuflexions of the Imperial Court.

His military fame was immortal, and could be left to itself, but what was escaping was the divinity of an anointed King. He would never let that go so long as he had life in him. The refusal of Pons to do as he was told was an affront to His Majesty. Moreover, defiant disobedience to his orders was a novelty to Napoleon ever since the day when, aged twenty-six, he had taken command of the Army of Italy. Already at that age he was by temperament a dominator, and his subsequent experience of eighteen years of unquestioned submission to his behests, had fixed in hard cement his natural expectation that his orders would always be instantly obeyed. To be defied now that he was a fallen man was a blow to his self-esteem, and in these circumstances the fact, obvious to all, that he was in the wrong, became of some significance.

When men came forward with offers to undertake the post of Administrator at a reduced salary, and even when Napoleon's mother asked him to give the appointment to a Corsican friend, he declined to remove Pons, nor would he accept the resignation of the post which Pons more than once tendered. He thought his dignity would be best served

by assuming an exalted superiority, based on the certainty that no man would or could continue to disobey his express commands.

Napoleon now sent his treasurer Peyrusse to try to convince Pons that the point in dispute was a technicality, a mere matter of accounts, but Pons was not to be moved from his opinion that it was a question of common honesty.

Napoleon then summoned Pons to a private audience and tried to browbeat him. "The Emperor," says Pons, "would not discuss, he would only command. He had the right to interrupt, but he would not suffer himself to be interrupted, so that it was not possible to oppose reasons against his reasons; consequently he was always in the right. But this was not his usual way. In general he would discuss and take pleasure in hearing others discuss, assuming no predominance, and when his opinion was shown not to be the best, he would admit his defeat. But here no discussion was possible. The positions were cut out: on one side right, on the other might. The Emperor was disinclined to use his might: he could not invoke his right. Hence his perplexity. He wanted the money. All that he said and did might be expressed in the word 'Give'; all I replied in the words 'I will not give.' So we could not come to an agreement."

There were frequent causes of disagreement now between Pons and the Emperor. Two coastguard boats were employed at Rio Marina to prevent smuggling of the ore. Napoleon dismissed the men and when Pons begged on their behalf that they should be accorded some other engagement, being now without employment of any kind, Napoleon paid no heed. When Pons had to report that the smuggling had recommenced, Napoleon exhibited his annoyance, but did not reinstate the guards.

Then he sent to the mines flour which had gone bad and had been refused by the soldiers. Having used it and found that the bread was bad, and that some of the miners had been

made ill, Pons protested, in a letter to the Emperor which he composed with the assistance of his friend Drouot. Napoleon's reply was to order Pons to mix good flour with bad flour. Pons did so, and the bread was still so bad that a hundred miners became unwell. On his reporting this to Napoleon and positively declining to distribute the bad bread, the Emperor had to acquiesce, but not before the affair had made him very unpopular with the miners.

Napoleon next gave orders that the number of workmen in the mines should be reduced. Pons declared that the miners by this time were in a state of exasperation, and that he had not the power to carry out the order without using violence; and he added that if the workers were reduced the quantity of work done, and of ore obtained, would be reduced also. Napoleon appeared to be convinced, but soon afterwards he told Pons to send him miners to do other work in various parts of the island. Pons had to submit, but he remarks that the result was that less ore was obtained from the mines, and that the miners were of little use elsewhere. "The work of the mines lost; the other works did not gain."

To bend Pons to his will Napoleon paid a second visit to the mine. Pons describes at considerable length the public quarrel which took place. "The Emperor arrived. He scarcely responded to my respectful salutation. He placed himself at the end of a long table, and made me sit at the opposite end. General Bertrand was on his right, the treasurer Peyrusse was on his left." Napoleon began by demanding why Pons did not pay the money, and a discussion or altercation ensued which ended by his saying: "You will do what I tell you to do. . . ." "I will not do it. . . ." "Sir, I am always the Emperor. . . ." "And I, Sire, am always a Frenchman." By this time the voices of both men had been raised, on the one side to a tone of strident threat, on the other to vehement defiance. Napoleon was the first to recover his composure, and before long was

doing his best to soothe the excessive agitation of the administrator. Drouot said to Pons: "The Emperor is always free from rancour. His anger does not go beyond the skin. He is not like you, moved to the vitals." After breakfast Napoleon, being served with coffee, handed the cup to Pons. "Take it, calm yourself, there is no cause for you to torment yourself beyond measure in this way." Then turning to Drouot he said, with a smile: "If he knew of our great quarrels, or rather my quarrels, he would not be so overcome as he is." Finally, when he left he gave Pons the exceptional honour of a handshake.

The readiness, even anxious desire, to make friends, after a disagreement, was characteristic of Napoleon. "We have been like lovers," he would say; "we have quarrelled. But lovers make it up, and then love each other more than ever. Good night, sleep well, no offence meant."

In the end Pons wrote to Scitivaux, the receiver for the mines, asking his opinion, and the reply was that it might be assumed that the French Government would deduct from the subsidy payable to Napoleon, any money which he might have abstracted from the Legion of Honour.

Pons thereupon announced to Napoleon that he would pay the money. He was still of opinion that it belonged by right to the Legion of Honour, but he was convinced that the Emperor would not allow him to suffer for having given in to his importunity. Napoleon sent for him and behaved to him with marked coldness. He began by saying that he was not going to occupy himself with bickerings (*tracasseries*), and finally treated him to his most crushing Imperial manner, dismissing him with the remark, as he went out of the room: "You were at the siege of Toulon, were you not?" and not waiting for an answer.

Pons was much offended, complained to Drouot of the Imperial hauteur and especially of the use of the word *tracasserie*, and kept himself away. Napoleon sent to enquire if he was ill, and Pons was induced to present himself once

more. Napoleon then, with a smile, said there would be no further reference to *tracasseries;* but he told Pons plainly that he had throughout been in the wrong. "Your duty was subordinate to my right. It was for me to judge what you should do. I think you have allowed yourself to be seduced by ideas of republican integrity," referring to the revolutionary opinions of the administrator. When Pons wished to explain Napoleon stopped him: "We will not argue. It would be useless. I wished you to have my opinion and I leave you free of yours." So ended the affair. After the second restoration Pons was officially absolved of all blame.

Pons was not accustomed to be told that he was incapable of judging between right and wrong, and had not been broken into the tone of abject submission which Napoleon still demanded. He never forgave the word *tracasserie.* When Napoleon wanted him to take over the superintendence of the salt works Pons declined, remarking that if he were to investigate the management of those undertakings, it was quite possible he might become *tracassier.*

Napoleon's parsimony was as bad as his rapacity. He examined every item in the accounts that were presented to him, and made it almost a rule to deduct something from every bill. When it was proposed to prepare rooms for some of his officers in the barrack of St. Francis for 2500 francs, he would sanction only 2400, thus saving £4.[1] Examples of that spirit are numerous in his correspondence.

His orders to Bertrand, Drouot, and Peyrusse are full of instructions as to the collection of revenues, and the reduction of expenses by small economies here and there. He seemed to cut down bills in trifling degree for the mere pleasure of doing it. Large savings were not made in this manner, but he had learned parsimony in the school of penury and had never forgotten the lesson, even when seated upon the throne of France.

[1] Letter to Drouot, 16th November, 1814. Lord Crawford's collection.

There was no need for this congenial exercise of the cheese-paring habits of his youth. The accounts of his treasurer Peyrusse give the following figures[1]:—

Civil Administration

From May, 1814, to 3rd June, 1815

	Francs
Intendance	7,898
Tribunals	27,578
Office of Imperial Receiver	4,826
Post Office	8,941
Church	9,010
Foundlings	10,472
Roads	25,670
Miscellaneous	6,769
Administration of the Mines	43,098
Tax Collection	1,479
	145,741

Military Administration

From 1st May, 1814, to 3rd June, 1815

	Francs
Staff	53,118
Battalion of Chasseurs	117,075
Free Battalion	66,469
Gendarmes	18,147
Infantry of the Guard	291,717
Cavalry of the Guard	67,036
Artillery	87,213
Marine	93,264
Hospitals	36,547
Expenses of Administration	18,974
Officers of the suite	31,362
Barracks	45,396

[1] Peyrusse, Appendix, pp. 146, 147, 148, 150.

	Francs
Payments to the Guard before the 31st May, 1814	336,450
National Guard	4,035
Coastguard	570
Clothing	10,864
Provisions	113,055
Payments to the payer De Joly, sent to Elba on the 1st June, 1815	54,917
	1,446,309

HOUSEHOLD OF THE EMPEROR

	Francs
From 11th April, 1814, to 31st May, 1814	264,053
From 1st June, 1814, to 3rd June, 1815	750,628
Voyage from Portoferraio to Paris	245,593
Total for the household	1,260,274
Civil Administration	145,741
Military Administration	1,446,309
Grand total of actual expenditure	2,852,324

RECEIPTS

From the 1st May, 1814, to the 3rd June, 1815, when the duty was relegated to the new Receiver

	Francs
Cash in hand	13,596
Contribution financière	20,266
Stamps and Registration	38,164
Salt	12,722
Fishery	34,144
Sale of stores	40,117
Shipping dues	33,983
Mines	373,129
Postal receipts	5,503

	Francs
Ten per cent upon octroi revenue . .	1,606
Five per cent upon communal revenue .	1,439
Received for foundlings . . .	6,289
Sale of houses	20,000
Miscellaneous	4,551
	606,309

As the actual payments were 2,852,315 francs there was thus an actual deficit of 2,246,006 francs.

To meet that sum Napoleon had to draw upon the money he brought with him from France.

On the 10th April, 1814, Peyrusse, the treasurer in attendance at Fontainebleau, had in his charge 488,913 francs.[1] On learning that the Emperor had abdicated he went to Bertrand and told him he wished to continue his service. The Grand Marshal took Peyrusse to Napoleon, who received him alone. Peyrusse explained that he desired to place his services at His Majesty's disposal, and to follow him into exile, an offer which was graciously accepted. He exposed the condition of his cash-box, with barely £20,000 remaining; he observed that the Treasurer-General, Baron de la Bouillerie, had taken to Orleans, in the company of the Empress Marie Louise, the general treasure of the Crown; and he suggested that he should be sent to Orleans to bring it away. "Bah!" said Napoleon, "when one loses the Empire one may as well lose everything," and with these words he left the room, to conceal his emotion. When Peyrusse told Bertrand what had passed, the Grand Marshal observed that he also was much embarrassed to know how he could venture to bring the financial situation before Napoleon. Early the next day Peyrusse was summoned by Napoleon, whom he found looking upset and pale. The Emperor gave him a letter to deliver to Marie Louise, and ordered him to start at once, and, in any event, not to allow the letter to

[1] Peyrusse, p. 217.

NAPOLEON IN 1814

From a picture taken during his residence in Elba, which in 1850 was in the possession of Signor Foresi, of Portoferraio

fall into the hands of the enemy who were already to be found between Fontainebleau and Orleans, placed there expressly in order to prevent communication between the two places.

Peyrusse hid the letter inside the lining of his waistcoat and, guided by a groom, arrived at Orleans early on the 12th April. Marie Louise, on reading the letter, told him that in it Napoleon asked her to send the treasure brought from Paris, but that it was too late, that on the 10th April, two days before, orders had been received from the Provisional Government to give up all the treasure brought to Orleans. This accordingly had been done, with the exception of a sum of 6,000,000 francs (£240,000) which had been left for the Empress herself and her household. Of this she required 500,000 francs (£20,000) to give as a present to the Guards who had acted as her escort. The remaining 5,500,000 francs she would give to Napoleon. Peyrusse should speak to Meneval about it. Later on the same day Marie Louise sent again for Peyrusse and told him that she was taking with her, at once, to Rambouillet, boxes containing 2,933,600 francs, for their greater security. Meneval gave Peyrusse a formal receipt for this sum, and Marie Louise assured him it would be forwarded to Napoleon from Rambouillet. Meneval also retained 50,000 francs for the Empress and 436,398 for the Guard. Peyrusse was left at Orleans with thirty cases containing 2,580,000 francs, protected only by the National Guards. He was in great anxiety, for foreign troops, and especially the much-dreaded Cossacks, had been seen in the neighbourhood. He sent off the groom to Fontainebleau with a letter to Bertrand informing him of his plight, and demanding an escort of troops.

At 6 p.m. on the following day, 13th April, Deschamps arrived in a post vehicle to inform Peyrusse that the Napoleon battalion of the Guard was on the way under Cambronne, and was making forced marches. At midnight the Guard arrived and the boxes were placed on the wagon they had brought, and were then escorted safely to Napoleon.

Marie Louise did not forward the money from Rambouillet, as she had promised to do. Peyrusse sent special agents several times to demand it, but all they succeeded in obtaining was 911,000 francs. For the remainder, over 2,000,000 francs, Peyrusse went himself, on the 18th April, Napoleon's departure from Fontainebleau being postponed until his return. But Marie Louise now said that she would return the money from Vienna. She never fulfilled the promise.

The funds upon which Napoleon could draw consisted therefore of the following sums :—

	Francs
Cash remaining at Fontainebleau . .	488,913
Brought by Peyrusse from Orleans . .	2,580,002
Brought by his agents from Rambouillet .	911,000
	3,979,915

Deducting the deficit of 2,246,000 francs leaves 1,733,909 as the sum in hand on the 3rd June, 1815.

To ascertain Napoleon's resources when he left Elba on the 26th February, we must add what was spent on the journey to Paris, 245,593 francs, which would give him on that date 1,979,502 francs. The other items of expenses and receipts after he had left the island are not important. From this account it would seem then that when Napoleon left he had spent just half his capital, and that he had only enough to last him till the end of the year 1815. In reality, as we shall see, he could have held out for several years.

The budget fixed upon by Napoleon with Peyrusse for the civil administration for the year 1815 was 114,530 francs.[1] Of this no less than 40,000 francs was for roads and bridges, on which we may assume that some economy would in fact have been made. The figure for the previous year's administration was 102,634 francs. In round numbers we may put the civil account at 100,000 francs.

[1] Peyrusse, p. 267.

The budget for war was fixed at 1,015,000[1] for 1815.

The outlay from 1st May, 1814, to 3rd June, 1815, nominally for thirteen months, was 1,446,309; but from this should be deducted :—

	Francs
Latrines, cisterns, works at Pianosa	27,378
Purchase of l'Étoile	8,823
Barracks, furniture and effects	30,440
Payment to Guard before May, 1814	336,450
Payments to De Joly	54,917
	458,008

Deducting this from 1,446,309 leaves 988,301, which is fairly in accord with Napoleon's estimate. The military expenses may be put at 1,000,000 francs.

The budget for the household was fixed, first at 350,000 francs,[2] later at 380,000 francs.[3] The previous expenditure from 11th April, 1814, to 3rd June, 1815, nearly fourteen months, was 1,260,274 francs, but that included the heavy expenses from Fontainebleau and the return to Paris in 1815. For a year, from 1st June, 1814, to 3rd June, 1815, the household cost was 750,628 francs. The accounts of Peyrusse show, when analysed, that this included 60,000 francs which were stolen, 136,000 for purchase of estates, 61,000 for furniture, and 188,000 for work on the various houses. This amounts altogether to 385,000 francs for presumably non-recurring expenditure, which would leave 365,000 for the total for the household. But after the budget had been settled, in January, 1815, the salaries of the staff were cut down by one-half, and the indemnity hitherto paid on account of lodging was suppressed, the officials being quartered in the barracks; and a number of other economies were effected. Napoleon's first estimate of 350,000 was, after these reduc-

[1] Peyrusse, p. 265. [2] Peyrusse, p. 245.
[3] Letter to Bertrand, 26th October, Registre, No. 111. Correspondance, No. 21662.

tions, considered by Peyrusse to be more than would be required. We may therefore accept it as a liberal provision.

The expenditure would thus be :—

	Francs
Civil Administration	100,000
Military	1,000,000
Household	350,000
Total	1,450,000

The receipts had been 606,309 francs, from 1st May, 1814, to 3rd June, 1815, a period of thirteen months, but of this sum no less than 185,386 francs was for receipts anterior to the 11th April, 1814[1] (to which Napoleon had no right), 40,117 was from sale of stores, and 20,000 from sale of houses. Deducting these items, 245,503, we have receipts of 360,806 francs for a period nominally of thirteen months, but in reality of little more than ten, for the revenue was not collected with diligence after the departure of Napoleon. The budget for receipts expected in 1815 was drawn up by Napoleon and his treasurer as follows :—

	Francs
Various taxes	87,000
Mines	300,000
Salt	22,000
Fishery	28,000
Miscellaneous	10,000
	447,000[2]

This would appear to have been over-sanguine. Taking a moderate estimate of 400,000 francs, and deducting that from the estimated expenditure of 1,450,000, we get an annual deficit of 1,050,000 francs (£42,000). Napoleon's capital remaining on 26th February, 1815, 1,979,502 francs, would thus have lasted him till the end of 1816.

[1] Peyrusse, p. 241.
[2] Peyrusse, pp. 267, 268. Appendix, No. 124.

But he and Peyrusse expected that other considerable sums would be available. There was already due to the mine from various purchasers of ore no less a sum than 549,000 francs, which Napoleon and Peyrusse put down as a receipt to be expected, in addition to the annual revenue of 300,000 francs. There were credits with bankers at Genoa, Leghorn, and Rome, amounting to 254,000 francs, and cash at Porto-ferraio 15,000 francs, and it was expected that the sale of various properties would bring in 440,000 francs, as follows:—

	Francs
Sale of houses and lands . . .	20,000
,, ,, bullets, iron, etc. . . .	150,000
,, ,, powder	210,000
,, ,, provisions	50,000
,, ,, horses and carriages . . .	10,000
	440,000
Add,	
Due to mine	549,000
Credits and cash	269,000
Total	1,258,000

Here was enough to defray the deficit for more than another year.

But even that is not all. Napoleon had placed with Eugène, with Laffitte, and with Lavalette, sums amounting altogether to 1,600,000 francs, which was much more than sufficient to see him through a fourth year.[1]

Allowing for some exaggerations in his expectations, it remains that Napoleon could have kept up his imperial style, and his military strength, for another four years. It is not to be supposed that he would have found it necessary to continue prepared for attack, or that he would have been left entirely on his own resources, all that time. There was

[1] Masson, "Napoléon à Saint Hélène," p. 317.

no necessity for anxiety in the matter of finance, and he knew it. He said so himself at St. Helena, when there was no longer any need for concealing the truth.[1]

Under these circumstances it is amusing to observe how easily he deceived Campbell, and all the other spies of foreign Governments. Every report from Elba stated that Napoleon was in great distress for want of money. Soon after his arrival in Paris he had a statement to that effect inserted in the "Moniteur," on the 13th April, 1815, in order to expose the dishonesty of the Bourbons. The economies and reductions of salaries at Elba were accompanied by loud laments; there was no attempt at concealment, no furtive shame, rather a prepared and elaborate display, that the world might not forget how he was being treated. It was policy, as much as natural aptitude, that made Napoleon cut down bills and reduce salaries. He wished it to be supposed that he was reduced to impotence by penury; that he was a victim to the dishonesty of Louis XVIII. He behaved in the same way at St. Helena.

[1] "L'ile d'Elbe et les Cent Jours," Correspondance, Vol. XXXI, p. 27.

CHAPTER XV

MARIE LOUISE

MARIE LOUISE, it will be remembered, on the 12th April, 1814, left Orleans, whence she could have reached Napoleon at Fontainebleau in a few hours, for Rambouillet, nearer Paris. It is said that Napoleon sent his Guard to fetch her, and that she hurried away as soon as the news arrived that the Guard was coming; but the story told by Peyrusse proves that it was for his treasure, not his wife, that Napoleon sent the Guard. The war was at an end, and she had a large escort of French cavalry at Orleans, and was not in need of the further protection of the Guard for a journey to Fontainebleau.

At Rambouillet Marie Louise received a visit from her father, who went through the form of saying that she should join her husband later on, but insisted that, in the meantime, she should return to her native country. He wrote to Napoleon a hypocritical letter, in which he said that the health of his daughter had suffered so prodigiously that he had urged her to spend some months in the bosom of her family. "Restored to health," he added, "my daughter will go to take possession of her territory, which will naturally bring her near to the residence of Your Majesty."

At Rambouillet the Empress also received visits from the Czar on the 19th April, and the King of Prussia on the 20th. Napoleon was right in objecting that these monarchs were acting in the worst of taste in thus presenting themselves

as conquerors, which was excessively disagreeable for Marie Louise. The Czar wished to appear magnanimous and gallant, and the King of Prussia would not be ignored.

When he found that he would not be allowed, as he had desired, to travel with his wife by way of Italy, Napoleon wrote to her on the 18th to follow the advice of Corvisart and take a course of the waters at Aix-en-Savoie.

At Fréjus, just before sailing, Napoleon wrote her a note to be sent on to the Emperor of Austria :—

"According to Article 11 of the Treaty, what comes from the Civil List belongs to the Emperor. The Duc de Cadore has the account of all that belongs to the Civil List and of the economies that have been made in fourteen years.

"A treasure of ten to twelve millions has been unjustly taken at Orleans, and is now sequestered at Paris. It is evident that as the French Government is acting throughout in bad faith, against all justice, nothing is to be expected from that quarter of the two millions placed upon the great book and destined for the expenses of the island of Elba, unless a foreign intervention takes up the affair.

"There were presents with portraits of the Emperor to the value of four or five hundred thousand francs which had been bought with the funds of the Civil List, and which were taken at Orleans, as well as all his crockery and silver. The Emperor has also been deprived of his library and of everything required for the daily use of the Emperor and Empress."

Bertrand wrote on the same date to Meneval a letter inspired by Napoleon, and meant to be shown to Marie Louise, in which he said : "You will realise that we very much desire that the Empress should come and divide her time between Parma and the island of Elba ; we should be so happy to see her sometimes."

These letters, written before Napoleon had sailed for Elba, show that he had already realised that the French Govern-

THE HERMITAGE OF MONTE SERRATO IN 1814–15

From a contemporary print after a sketch by Sir R. C. Hoare

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ment had no intention of paying him the money due by the Treaty of Fontainebleau. They also show that he did not expect Marie Louise to live permanently with him at Elba; at most she would visit him sometimes from Parma.

Marie Louise left Rambouillet with her son on the 25th and arrived at the Castle of Schoenbrunn, near Vienna, on the 18th May. There she saw a good deal of her grandmother, Caroline, sister of Marie Antoinette, and formerly Queen of the two Sicilies. In spite of the deadly injury Napoleon had done her the ex-Queen urged Marie Louise to join him, and when she excused herself by referring to the obstacles that were put in her way, Caroline replied that she should tie sheets to the window-sill of her room and escape at night in a disguise. "That is what I would do, for when one is married it is for life." Marie Louise was not made of such stuff, but Caroline succeeded in turning her thoughts towards Napoleon, and prevailed on her to wear a portrait of him. That was as far as the wife could go, and then only while in the presence of her grandmother.

On the 29th June she escaped from that beneficent influence, and went to Aix-en-Savoie, leaving her son with her relations. Corvisart had recommended the waters. Napoleon objected. He wrote on the 3rd July: "If the Empress has waited at Vienna for the answer to her letter, the Emperor desires that she should not go to Aix, and if she has already gone, that she should remain there only for one course of baths, and return as soon as possible to Tuscany, where there are waters which have the same qualities as those of Aix. They are nearer to us and Parma, and would allow of the Empress having her son with her. When M. Corvisart advised the waters of Aix, he did not know the waters of Tuscany, which have the same properties."

This letter arrived too late, nor would it have had any effect, for when, at Aix, Marie Louise received it, she wrote to Meneval: "You know how I desire to do the wish of the Emperor, but in this case ought I to do so, if it does not

agree with the intentions of my father?" That was her answer to the energetic remonstrances of the ex-Queen of Sicily.

She arrived at Aix on July 17th. Outside the town she was met by General Count Neipperg, an officer and diplomatist of proved ability and distinguished manners. He wore a large piece of black silk over the upper part of his face, having lost one eye from a wound. Meneval says that his appearance gave Marie Louise a disagreeable impression which she did not dissimulate. Neipperg had a wife, whom he had married to make legitimate her children.

The feminine point of view with regard to Neipperg has been thus expressed:[1] "He had lost an eye in the war, and a scar that reached obliquely across his face was concealed by a black bandage, which gave his countenance a singular attraction, on account of the contrast between the refined, gentle features and this proof of bravery. He had eloped with a married woman, and by her he had a large family."

Neipperg's instructions were that he was, "without arousing suspicion, to report what goes on. He must assist the Empress with his counsels and his presence, and if he cannot in any way prevent her from repairing to the island of Elba, at least he must accompany her." The Empress was on French soil, and surrounded by a French suite, Corvisart, Isabey, Talma, Bausset, Cussy, and the Duchesse de Montebello. It was General Neipperg's task to counteract all that influence. He succeeded in a degree and a manner that had not been anticipated, for he was soon a personal friend of the Empress, and shortly afterwards her lord and master.

To suppose that he was chosen with the hope and expectation that he would seduce her, is to give the Emperor Francis credit for a more remarkable intelligence than he possessed. The names of several persons of whom he knew little having been proposed, he referred the matter to Schwartzenberg,

[1] "Napoleon's Son," by Clara Tschudi, p. 113.

who chose General Neipperg, whom he had already presented to Napoleon at the Tuileries four years before, and whose division happened at the time to be stationed on the Savoy frontier. That was how Neipperg came to be appointed.

At this time it was the intention of Marie Louise to go to Parma as soon as her cure was finished. She was most anxious to find herself once more a reigning sovereign, with the dignity and comparative independence of that position.

On the 9th August Bertrand wrote to Meneval: "The Emperor expects the Empress at the end of August, and desires that she should bring her son with her." Marie Louise had not received news of that letter when she wrote to Meneval, who was not in attendance at Aix, on the 15th August, the birthday of Napoleon and fête day of her son: "How can I be gay on the fifteenth, when I am obliged to pass that festival so solemn for me, far away from the two people who are most dear to me?" She was not obliged. She could have gone to Napoleon even now if she had been determined to do so, as the instructions to Neipperg testify.

When women like Queen Caroline reminded her of her plain obligations, she tried to want to go to her husband, spoke as if she would certainly do so, betook herself to affectionate expressions, but the actual wish to go would not come. She had been brought up to consider two things only, the authority of her father and her own inclinations.

She was to be disappointed in her hope of being able to go from Aix to take possession of the Parma territories, for the Congress of Vienna had not concluded its deliberations, and Bourbon claims were being put forward. On the 19th August she wrote accordingly to her father, that she had asked General Neipperg to accompany her on a journey to Switzerland during September; and that she would then, expecting the Congress to be over, return to Vienna, and arrive there early in October.

The cure being finished, Marie Louise set out for Switzerland with Madame de Brignole and General Neipperg as her principal attendants, of whom the former had never liked Napoleon and the latter had always hated him. At Berne they met Caroline, Princess of Wales. After a day of excursion together, Marie Louise and Caroline sang duets in the evening in the hotel, accompanied by Neipperg, who was an excellent musician. "La ci darem la mano" was not beyond their powers.

On the 22nd September she wrote to her father: "I have received a letter from the Emperor which is quite insignificant; he speaks only of his health, and says absolutely nothing about his wish to have me go to the island of Elba." Making the most of the fact that Napoleon had written to her a letter in which he omitted to ask her to join him, his wife decided that she would not go to Elba direct. From Parma she might, a reigning sovereign, pay Napoleon occasional visits. She had given up the effort to force herself to want to live with her husband, and felt much relieved at the termination of the struggle, with the assumption of his indifference as the excuse.

She was now finding pleasure in the society of another man. Neipperg's influence was already great. By the time the Swiss journey had been completed Marie Louise had turned altogether against Napoleon. She wrote to her father that she had within a week received two officers from Napoleon with letters in which he told her to start at once for Elba, where he awaited her with much impatience, and that she had replied verbally that she was going to Vienna, and could not make the journey without his (her father's) permission. "Be assured," she continued, "that I am now less than ever desirous of undertaking that voyage, and I give you my word of honour that I will never undertake it without first asking your permission."

So Napoleon still wanted her. In spite of that patent fact she had made up her mind that she would give him up

altogether. She would not go without her father's permission, and she knew she would never get that permission. This was the final decision.

On the 4th October Marie Louise was back at Schoenbrunn, where she found her son in good health. From this time she remained under Austrian influence. She had already ceased to correspond with Napoleon, who was reduced to write, on the 10th October, a very supplicating letter to her uncle, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, as follows :—

"My Brother and very dear Uncle,—Not having received news of my wife since the 10th August, nor of my son for six months, I am charging Chevalier Colonna with this letter. I beg Your Royal Highness to let me know whether you will allow me to address to you every week a letter for the Empress, and will send me in return news of her and the letters of the Comtesse de Montesquieu, my son's governess. I flatter myself that in spite of the events which have changed so many persons, Your Royal Highness preserves for me some friendship ; if you should be pleased to give me a formal assurance to that effect I should receive a sensible consolation."

This letter was not acknowledged by the Grand Duke, who sent it on to the Emperor Francis, who read it and then allowed Marie Louise to see it, with strict orders not to reply. Napoleon was obliged to desist from his efforts to communicate with her. He obtained news from time to time, through Bertrand, from Meneval. On the 1st January, 1815, Marie Louise wrote to Napoleon for the first time since the 10th August, but only some formal lines, with the compliments of the season, and news of the health of his son. That was the last communication he ever received from his wife.

Just at first, when she was ready to join Napoleon at Fontainebleau, his pride stood in the way, and to that extent the fault was his. But afterwards, when he called imploringly for her, she should have gone to him. There is ample

feminine support for this opinion. We have already recorded the strong words of her grandmother, Queen Caroline. Lady Burghersh was even more emphatic. She wrote: "I think she is a monster, for she pretended to love him, and he was always good to her. It is revolting in her to abandon him in misfortune, after having affected to adore him in prosperity." There were near examples to show her the way. The Princess Augusta refused to abandon her husband, Eugène Beauharnais, stepson of Napoleon, in spite of the commands and threats of her father, the King of Bavaria. Caroline of Würtemberg also resisted the pressure brought upon her to desert her husband, Jerome, Napoleon's brother. These women had been just as much "sacrificed" for the sake of their country as was the Austrian Grand Duchess. But Marie Louise, as she admitted one day to Napoleon, was a selfish woman. Only by compulsion could she be brought to do anything she did not like. If at first one must have some sympathy for her—and also for the other Iphigenias—that feeling, in her case, has to give way to disgust.

The conduct of the Emperor Francis was also contemptible. He was ashamed of having been compelled to give his daughter to a parvenu, and was anxious to put an end to the connection as soon as possible, in order to wipe out the memory of the transaction. Pride of blood was the source both of the father's command and the daughter's ready obedience. They had accepted the connection with Napoleon when he was great and powerful, and repudiated it when he had fallen. They had the pride of birth, but not of honour.

The unfortunate offspring of the marriage could not be ignored or sent into exile, but as he grew up he found that he was in the way, that nobody wanted him, not even his mother. The character of Marie Louise is painfully exposed by the indifference she showed to her son's welfare. There were, of course, demonstrations of affection from time to time, but the unhappy lad could not fail to perceive that his

presence reminded his mother disagreeably of her conduct to Napoleon.

The Comtesse de Montesquieu wrote to her husband: "If he had a mother I would put him into her hands, and I should be blameless. But he has nothing like a mother! This person is more indifferent to her child's lot than the most careless of the strangers who wait upon him." A hundred years later Clara Tschudi writes: "She had no shadow of excuse for leaving him, or for renouncing his rights; nor for submitting to his being brought up by strangers, and losing both health and spirits, mainly for want of love, at the Court of Austria. And least of all can we forgive and forget that she arrived so late at his death-bed, and then merely after being urged by strangers to go to him. As a mother she deserves the crushing judgment that contemporary and later days have passed on her."

Josephine, as the poor Duc de Reichstadt admitted to his friend de Prokesch Oken, would not have deserted her husband and neglected her son. She would have seen more of her son, from whom Marie Louise was content to be separated unnecessarily for long periods. She would not have let him die of neglect and despair. This mother, after some foolish tears about his grave, in her heart of hearts was glad that her son was no longer alive to torment her conscience.

If Marie Louise had joined her husband at Elba; if she had even kept her son alive; the course of world events would have been very different. She had it in her power to change the whole face of European history in the nineteenth century.

CHAPTER XVI

THE MAN AT ELBA

WHEN he first arrived at Elba Napoleon's physical energy was very trying to those who had to accompany him. Campbell, after mentioning his "restless perseverance" and "pleasure in perpetual movement," adds: "I do not think it possible for him to sit down to study, on any pursuits of retirement, as proclaimed by him to be his intention, so long as his state of health permits corporeal exercise. After being yesterday on foot in the heat of the sun from 5 a.m. to 3 p.m., visiting the frigates and transports, and even going down the hold among the horses, he rode on horseback for three hours, as he told me afterwards, '*pour se défatiguer.*'" That was an exceptional day, owing to the arrival of the Guard, but throughout the early part of his sojourn at Elba he was in such "perpetual movement" as to suggest a condition of excitement and hysterical restlessness. Pons says that sometimes he became much exhausted. One day "the Emperor was visibly fatigued. It was a day of very obvious distress. We begged him to go in; he replied: 'One should never recoil at the first difficulty.'"[1] To drown thought, to produce a physical exhaustion which might assist sleep, and also to satisfy his boyish curiosity, Napoleon careered over the island in every direction until, as he observed, he "knew it by heart."

One of his expeditions was to the romantically situated

[1] Campbell, p. 243; Pons, p. 125.

NAPOLEON'S OBSERVATORY

Near the Hermitage, from which he used to gaze on the coast of Corsica. From a photograph by Alberto Reiter

chapel of Monte Serrato. He went on horseback with Bertrand and Pons as companions, followed by the retinue of attendants.

The chapel and hermitage of Monte Serrato stand on a small eminence in a valley, on a mass of débris thrown up in the centre of a crater. The hermits, following each other for centuries, have succeeded in surrounding their dwelling with cultivated land, carrying grass, vines, fruit, and vegetables. Cork trees, figs, aloes, and chestnuts grow in profusion. In front of the hermitage was a spacious terrace surrounded and covered by a wooden trellis, or pergola, made of the stems of aloes, over which vines had been trained, forming a pleasant outdoor shelter and place for dining during the hot weather.

On Sunday a priest came to say Mass in the chapel. The resident hermit told Napoleon that formerly the sailors had entertained a great belief in the power of the Madonna of Monte Serrato, but that they had lost their confidence, and at that time were ordering very few Masses. "That will continue," said he, "until the Virgin performs a good miracle."

The valley was singularly smiling and peaceful on a fine day. Napoleon, with his taste for tragedy, remarked that in a storm it would be dark and awful, with the thunder reverberating from side to side. The hermit told him that thunderbolts fell often, but they had never touched the hermitage, whereupon Napoleon said that it was protected by having high sharp-pointed hills around. The hermit objected that it was better for people to believe in the protection of the Virgin, to which Napoleon replied that he would not prevent them from doing so, but he added that their religion had in it so much truth that it did not require to be supported by assertions which were not really true.

"By a happy precaution," says the ingenuous Pons, "the Emperor had brought a collation; we devoured it, we all had good appetites. The Emperor was very pleased to see

us eat 'like conscripts who have just finished a good piece of work.' That was one of his expressions which denoted satisfaction. The Emperor was as gay as the rest of us; such moments were indeed moments of happiness. But there was a time of profound silence. The Emperor was sleeping, for a quarter of an hour, in his chair."[1]

The Monte Serrato picnic was the last of the energetic expeditions. On 20th September Campbell writes: "Napoleon has four places of residence in different parts of the island, and the improvements and changes of these form his sole occupation. But as they lose their interest to his unsettled mind, and the novelty wears off, he occasionally falls into a state of inactivity never known before, and has of late retired to his bedroom for repose during several hours of the day. If he takes exercise it is in a carriage, and not on horseback as before. His health, however, is excellent and his spirits not at all depressed." Evidence to the same effect was furnished to Anglès in Paris by a groom who had been in the imperial stable at Portoferraio. He said that Napoleon was well but had grown very fat, and had given up horseback exercise, going out only on foot or in his carriage. Later Campbell again writes: "Napoleon never takes exercise, excepting in a carriage drawn by four horses, and accompanied by Generals Bertrand and Drouot, who sit uncovered, whatever may be the state of the weather, while passing through the town and fortifications."[2]

Vincent wrote of Napoleon: "He is always wanting trees and nothing seems to please him more than the view of an oak. I doubt, however, whether he would not have the trees which are around cut down if he saw them often and for long. He wants incessant change."[3] This desire for novelty is visible throughout Napoleon's career. He blamed himself at St. Helena, that he could not wait to finish with Spain

[1] Pons, p. 267.
[2] Firmin-Didot, "Royauté ou Empire," p. 74. Campbell, pp. 305, 354.
[3] "Mémoires de Tours," Vol. III, p. 204.

before beginning with Russia. He could not resist the new adventure. The writings of his youth show the same tendency. He took notes of the books he was reading, works on history, or science, or philosophy, but he never went on to the end of a book. He always threw it down before he had finished it. When, as at Elba, and subsequently at St. Helena, there was nothing new to be done or seen, he spent much of his time lying on his bed, in sulky indolence, turning over the leaves of one book after another, or working out calculations for improvements which he had no intention of inaugurating. He made no preparation for writing that history of his achievements which he had spoken of when leaving Fontainebleau. He did not regard his public life as at an end; the time for biography had not arrived. He still hoped that something would happen to change his fortune, but in the meantime, while waiting for events, he was putting on fat both physically and mentally. His portliness was developing into corpulence, and though he was often animated and gay there were periods when he would be pensive and silent for days on end.[1]

Napoleon was an intermittent sleeper. He retired early and would be awake often before three; he would then rise and go into his library, and sometimes would obtain more sleep, after an interval. If he did not wake till after four he would have a strong cup of coffee, and regard the day as having commenced. In the summer he often drove to San Martino at five in the morning, and returned to Portoferraio for breakfast at ten. In the afternoon, at five or six, he might go for another drive, or stroll about in the small garden of the Mulini Palace. His habits were irregular and his attendants had to be prepared for a summons at any hour of the day or night.

It was difficult to pass the time, and his followers felt the monotony as much as Napoleon himself. Even Drouot found that his loyalty to the Emperor was subjected to an

[1] Firmin-Didot, "Royauté ou Empire," p. 137.

overpowering trial. He asked to be allowed to resign his post and return to France; but the request was rejected. It was terrible for Napoleon to find that the whole of his suite, from the highest to the lowest, wished to be in a position to leave him. The Guards were grumbling at the dullness of their lives, petitioning to be allowed to visit their relations in France (with the design of remaining there permanently), or taking their own leave and deserting. This discontent of the Guard, and the publicity they gave to it, was most galling to Napoleon. It touched his pride to feel that even his old soldiers wanted to leave him, and that all the world knew it. He learned of their saying to each other that the island was "a good refuge for a fox." He went amongst them, spending hours at a time in their quarters, tasting their food, enquiring about complaints, entering into easy and familiar talk, calling them openly his grumblers. "Well, grumbler," he said one day to a sergeant, "thou art bored?" "No, sire, but I am not too much amused all the same." "Thou art wrong, things must be taken as they come," and putting a Napoleon in the man's hand he moved away humming the air to the words:

Ça ne durera pas toujours,
Ça ne durera pas toujours.[1]

To make up for the losses by desertion, Napoleon sent out recruiting agents to Corsica and Italy. French and Austrian officials were employed to impede this traffic. Brulart, Governor of Corsica, threatened severe measures against any person attempting to draw Corsicans away, and the French frigates *Melpomène* and *Fleur-de-Lys* were sent to cruise off the coast, with special instructions to interfere with the communications between Elba and Corsica.

In Tuscany some of Napoleon's agents were seized and imprisoned. Guasco, the commander of Napoleon's Corsican battalion, protested in a letter of the 19th July, 1814,

[1] Peyrusse, p. 264, gives no date, but says this was "in the later days."

addressed to the Governor of Leghorn, against the detention of three officers of the Corsican battalion. No satisfaction being received, Drouot, on the 13th August, himself wrote. He said that Napoleon did not desire to obtain Italians, that all his recruits were French or Corsicans or Poles, that consequently his agents had not offended against Italian laws ; if they had done wrong they should be sent to Portoferraio to be punished. These assurances were of no avail, but the Austrian police failed to stop the traffic, which was, after all, only on a small scale. Napoleon was entitled to raise as large an army as he could maintain. He was an independent Sovereign. No steps had been taken to cause the Elban flag to be respected, in spite of the explicit undertakings by all the Powers, France included, by the 5th Article of the Treaty of Fontainebleau. Yet this recruiting of a handful of men in Corsica or Italy was given as an excuse for the non-payment of the pension.

After the arrival of Pauline on the 30th October, 1814, efforts were made to enliven the dullness of the Elban existence. Balls and banquets and theatricals helped to pass the time. At one of these balls the Emperor was seated on a sofa that had been made to look like a throne. All who passed in front were expected to bow. Pauline herself was punctilious in this matter, but she was outdone by the Intendant's wife, who found occasion to pass and repass constantly before the Emperor, bowing low with great ceremony on each occasion, until at last he gave clear signs of annoyance. The society present laughed at the over-officious lady, whereupon Napoleon made a point of being exceptionally affable to her.

To provide amusement, Napoleon converted the church of the Carmelites into a theatre, much to the indignation of the clergy.[1] He declined to pay for the work. He gave the building, though it may be doubted whether it was legally his to give, and he issued his commands. The money

[1] Diary of Santoni, 2nd August, 1814.

was found by selling in advance the boxes, with right to their use for life, but although this proved a very satisfactory financial expedient it set the whole Portoferraio society by the ears, for there were not enough boxes in the first tier to satisfy all the "high functionaries" and "great families." Hence much jealousy and bitterness, which Pons thought was ridiculous, for, said he, "We were all of the same height and grandeur. The Emperor levelled us." The Elbans thought there were gradations of level and quarrelled violently about these boxes. When the list had been finally made out, the proprietors formed themselves into a society which they called the "Accademia dei fortunati" (Academy of the fortunate ones), and they placed on the façade of the building their motto: "A noi la sorte" (We have the luck). The reference was not, as might be supposed, to their having obtained boxes; that was their right, as officials and leading citizens. Their good fortune consisted in the presence among them of the great Napoleon.

On the curtain of the theatre was painted Apollo guarding his sheep, or, Napoleon and the Elbans. On the arch above, in a medallion, was a figure of fortune in a car—Napoleon and Elba again. It was not till the time of Carnival, in January, 1815, that the first performance took place, a company of strolling players having arrived. The Emperor himself was present in the central box. After the play a fancy ball was held upon the stage, and dancing was kept up till morning. Pauline enchanted all in her Neapolitan costume, which Napoleon can hardly have approved. At another ball she appeared in the non-political dress of a shepherdess. Pauline also took part in the amateur performances given in the small theatre which Napoleon constructed in an outhouse of the Mulini Palace.

Napoleon arranged for a number of balls to be given during Carnival. His instructions to Bertrand were as follows: "Portoferraio, 3rd January, 1815. On Sunday, the 8th of the month, there will be a ball in the grand ballroom. The

invitations must be sent to-morrow evening; submit the list to His Majesty to-morrow. The invitations must embrace the whole of the island, without, however, going beyond a limit of two hundred persons. They will be for nine o'clock. The refreshments will be without ices on account of the difficulty of getting them. There will be a supper which will be served at midnight. The total cost of all that must not be more than 1000 francs.

"On Sunday, the 15th, the Academy might inaugurate its theatre and give a masked ball. On the 22nd following I might give another ball. On the 29th the theatre might give another masked ball. During Carnival, which lasts till the 8th February, there will be two masked balls, one at the theatre and one at the palace.

"As 200 persons is the maximum that we can invite, even supposing that the ballroom will hold that number, and that there are 200 persons in the island to invite, 150 persons might be invited, always the same ones, to the first three balls, and the remaining 150 to the three last balls, so that they may have invitations to the end of Carnival."[1]

The Guard ushered in Carnival by a procession of men wearing the usual masks and long noses. They buried Carnival on the 8th of February, with ceremony. Mallet, the Colonel, led the funeral cortège dressed as a Sultan, riding "Intendant," one of Napoleon's famous greys; at his side rode a captain of the Polish Lancers, a tall thin man on a miserable angular steed, as Don Quixote and Rosinante. Other officers followed in similar comic costumes.

Various ladies went to Elba in the hope of finding favour with Napoleon. One of them, a certain Comtesse de Rohan Mignac, brought her son, and declared that the Emperor was the child's father. She was an adventuress, but contrived to be received by Drouot, Bertrand, and even the Emperor himself. At the fête given on the occasion of the

[1] Correspondance, No. 21665.

arrival of Pauline she received an invitation to the imperial table, but her attempt to obtain a seat there for her son did not succeed; and receiving no encouragement to stay, she left Elba before Napoleon's departure. She confessed to the age of forty.

Younger ladies played havoc with the French, and several marriages took place. Drouot himself, the austere philosopher, was overcome by the tender passion. Signorina Henrietta Vantini, daughter of one of Napoleon's chamberlains, wished to learn French and Drouot wished to learn Italian; and so they met to exchange conversation. Drouot was forty years of age, and he had never been more than passable in appearance. However, he was an officer of distinction, and a worthy man. The marriage was arranged. But Drouot, like Gourgaud at St. Helena, was devoted to his mother, and Drouot's mother refused her consent to the match. Drouot thereupon broke it off. Some said that Signorina Henrietta had been touched first, had become dreamy, and appeared to be in a decline, that her mother had told Drouot the state of the case, and that it was only then that he felt bound to present himself; and there were persons capable of hinting that Drouot fell back upon his own mother in self-defence. However that may be, the young lady was charming and desirable in every way, and ultimately made a suitable marriage.

Napoleon was much interested in what Pons called the "astonishing metamorphosis of General Drouot. He amused himself without reserve in the amorous awkwardness of the philosopher; he even embroidered a little the stories he told about it."[1] We can well imagine it; and the embroidery would not be of the most refined nature.

Pons thought that Napoleon was pleased at the rupture of the engagement; and he says that Campbell put a political complexion upon the affair, followed it with great attention, and considered the conclusion an event of State importance.

[1] Pons, p. 173.

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THE ROBINSON CRUSOE OF THE ISLAND OF ELBA

From a French caricature of 1814

The fact that Napoleon did not wish Drouot to contract a tie to Elba was certainly of some significance.

Pauline and Drouot dined habitually at the Mulini Palace, the Bertrands seldom. Madame Bertrand was an unpunctual woman, and she had the rudeness to indulge that weakness even when invited to dine with Napoleon, with the result that, his meals being hurried over in great haste, she would arrive when dinner was nearly finished. As she could not accommodate herself to his time, Napoleon ceased to invite her.

In the winter evenings Napoleon always had the society of his mother, his sister Pauline, and their suites. They would play games of cards, chess, reversi, dominoes, etc. When Napoleon was losing at cards he cheated without scruple, and all submitted with such grace as they could muster, except the stern Corsican lady, who in her decided tone would say, " Napoleon, you are cheating." To this he would reply : " Madame, you are rich, you can afford to lose, but I am poor and must win." The game would go on and again Letizia would insist that her son was attempting to rob her, which she would not tolerate. When matters had reached that point Napoleon put a summary end to the *tracasserie* by sweeping all the money on the table into his pocket and retiring with it into his bedroom. Next day Marchand would be given the money to return to its owners, with such justice and exactitude as might then be possible.

The Bonapartes did not like paying up. Letizia did not cheat—perhaps she had not the ability—but she forgot to pay ; and the only one present who dared to remind her was her son, with the firm remark : " Pay your debts, Madame." What with the cheating of the Emperor and Madame Mère's forgetfulness in paying, these games must have had their painful moments for the members of the suite.

Napoleon enjoyed music, though his taste was uncultivated. Retiring early, usually at nine, he would give the signal by playing on the piano, with one finger, the first few

bars of the symphony popularly known as "Haydn's Surprise."

Early in January there was a fall of snow, which the Elbans told their French visitors was a unique experience, but in this they were not exact, as a considerable fall may occur any winter. On these occasions the island seen from the mainland presents a beautiful spectacle on a clear winter's day. Except when the icy tramontana was blowing Napoleon and Pauline were often in their boats in the harbour of Portoferraio, and sometimes made short coasting expeditions. Pauline in general behaved as an invalid, being carried up and down the stairways in a sedan-chair; but though her health certainly did need consideration, she was always capable of dancing half through the night. Pauline had tried to induce others of the family to join the Emperor at Elba. In a letter to her mother of the 25th June, 1814, she said that both Élise and Joseph had promised to join Napoleon: "We must not leave the Emperor quite alone; it is now that he is unhappy that we should show him affection; at least, that is my feeling." But the other members of the family kept aloof. They had been too mercilessly snubbed and bullied; and there was still the disagreeable barrier of imperial etiquette.

Napoleon was glad to have Pauline with him for the sake of her society, and also because her frivolous reputation and the round of gaiety which it excused, tended to divert attention from himself. The report was spread that the great Napoleon had degenerated, that he had taken to light amusements, and had lost the severity of his disposition. Though his vanity was hurt, yet the rumours of his decadence were welcome, in so far as they tended to lull Europe into security. Youth had always been on the side of Napoleon in his contests with the aged commanders of Europe. Freshness of view; quickness of decision; courage and even recklessness in putting matters to the touch; these boyish qualities had been, from the first, marked features of his

character. In the trivial existence at Elba, it was natural enough that the light-hearted side of the man should lead to incidents which observers regarded as evidence of childish frivolity. Pons says that Napoleon loved gossip and scandal and favoured the society of those who gratified his inclinations. This tendency explained his preference for the society of a certain lady and her daughter at Longone. "There was absolutely nothing in them to fix seriously the attention of such a man as the Emperor," but they brought him all the small and spicy talk of the place, which he enjoyed. Under the influence of that kind of conversation Napoleon proceeded to acts which scandalised the good Elbans. He would walk with these ladies at deserted parts of the beach, "and upon the border of the sea, the Emperor amused himself with them at games which are called innocent, though their innocence has never been established."[1] We can guess what they were. He pushed them into the sea, and laughed at their screams and resistance. That was all very well with Josephine at Bayonne, for she was his wife, but with other ladies—Elba was scandalised, and the world relieved.

After a successful day's tunny fishing it was the custom to indulge in games on the beach. Napoleon on one occasion joined in. He even proposed one, the game of the ring, and suggested that the ribbons worn by the ladies present should be used for the cord. This was a public affair and it caused a sensation. Portoferraio talked of nothing else for some days, and every "lady" of the island claimed that Napoleon had asked for her ribbon, had talked with her, walked with her, and played with her games whose innocence had not been established. Further details, unhappily, are lacking, but we know what Napoleon did to the Grand Marshal of the Five Palaces. He slyly put into his pocket several small live fish that he had picked up on the shore; then he asked his victim for the use of his handkerchief, and when Bertrand

[1] Pons, p. 248.

put his hand on the cold and wet fish wriggling in his pocket Napoleon enjoyed a good laugh.

While he could unbend at times Napoleon had a permanent passion for the display of the important personage. In one of his lucid intervals he would say: "We are no longer at Paris," but he could not keep that fact always in mind. On another occasion he remarked that his Court was like that of Sancho Panza, but he would not abate the etiquette of the Tuileries.[1] He wrote, two days after his arrival, that he would "suppress a number of offices which are useless in a small country and which have originated in the great organisation of France"; but he created several new posts.

To three officials only did the Emperor accord the right of being addressed in correspondence in the first person: the Grand Marshal of the Palace, the Governor of the island of Elba, and the Treasurer. To the administrator of the mine Napoleon wrote, "The Emperor is aware," etc., and Pons immediately protested. The question was carefully considered, and it was decided that in Paris such an official as the administrator of the mines would not have had the privilege of "working personally with the Sovereign."

All his dictation at Elba consisted of orders or decrees. In the "Correspondance" there are 115, and of these all except five are addressed to Bertrand or Drouot. The "Registre" contains 184 orders, of which all except six are to Bertrand, Drouot, or Peyrusse. All the 200 in Lord Crawford's collection are for Drouot. Bertrand, Drouot, and Peyrusse were in attendance nearly all day, and Drouot was constantly in Napoleon's society. When these orders were being dictated to a secretary the person to whom they were addressed was usually close at hand in the same building, perhaps in the next room. In most cases a verbal order

[1] "The Emperor of Portoferraio had his guard, his service, his hours for work, his hours for receptions, absolutely the same as the Emperor of the Tuileries. The etiquette was the same, but the crowd was less." Bacheville, "Voyages des frères," p. 31.

would have been better understood and more effective, while the saving of time would have been very substantial.

Decisions about trifles, when written out as Orders of State, may come very near to the ridiculous. The Grand Marshal of the Palace presented to the Emperor the following report for His Majesty's decision: "Captain Paoli asks that there may be delivered one roll of bread each day for the sustenance of the shooting dogs. I have the honour to propose to Your Majesty to approve that thirty rolls of bread per month be delivered to Captain Paoli. The Grand Marshal Bertrand, Portoferraio, 6th January, 1815." In the margin was the Emperor's dictated decision: "Portoferraio, 17th January, 1815. The regulation bread must not be given to the shooting dogs; bran bread must be prepared for the purpose. I do not order this from economy, but for decency. Captain Paoli will make arrangements accordingly with a baker. It will be paid for with the shooting expenses, for which I have placed on the budget 100 francs a month."[1]

Here is an order to Bertrand: "Monsieur Count Bertrand, the Genoese family which has just arrived, and also the two Guards at Saint Martin, will be under the order of the steward, who will himself be under the order of M. Lapi, from whom you will receive reports upon important matters which require to be decided." Communications thus had to pass from Napoleon to Bertrand, to M. Lapi, to the steward, and thus finally to the Guard.

A note to Bertrand: "M. Allori is named guardian of the cisterns of Portoferraio. He is charged especially with the supervision of all work upon the cisterns, and will send in a daily account to the officer of the Engineers, who will send every week to the Governor a statement of the condition of the cisterns, of the amount of water which has been taken from them during the week, and what remains. The Governor will send in this account to the Emperor."[2] The Emperor

[1] Correspondance, No. 21567.
[2] Correspondance, No. 21668.

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and King of Elba, having his chamberlains and orderly officers in attendance, with the Grand Marshal of the Palace and the Governor of the kingdom of Elba close at hand, dictated to his secretary an order to be delivered to the Grand Marshal of the Palace by one of the officers in attendance. The Grand Marshal of the Palace would send the order by another official to a certain Allori to inform him that he had been appointed to the new post of "Guardian of the cisterns of Portoferraio." He was to send in a daily account to the Engineer officer, who was to send in a weekly account to the Governor of the kingdom of Elba, who would forward it to the Emperor and King of Elba. All this was in the manner of "the great organisation of France." What happened at Elba was that when, as was often the case, no salary was attached to the new duties, they were not accomplished.

The personnel of Napoleon's navy amounted altogether to about 100 officers and sailors. On the 22nd May he issued the order: "Drouot will bring together the Commissary of the Marine, the Captain of the Fort, and the Commander of the Fleet, to advise as to the division of the ship's companies."[1] Four men to consult together on a matter which would have been better executed by one.

To decide how the rations for the Marine should be obtained, whether (1) by a contractor for all the rations, or (2) by a money payment to the captains of the ships who would feed their men, or (3) by obtaining the bread from the director of the land rations through the Commissary of War, and the remainder of the ration through a contractor, Napoleon appointed a "Council of Marine composed of the Commander, the Commissary of Marine, the Commissary of War, and the Captain of the Port."[2] Here was another committee of four, each man feeling that he was appointed to keep a watchful eye on his colleagues.

[1] Correspondance, No. 21570.
[2] Correspondance, No. 21573.

When in 1796 the Directory proposed to give to General Bonaparte, Commander of the Army of Italy, a colleague, he replied : " One bad general is better than two good ones." But that aphorism he applied only to his own case. In Spain his policy was that of the jealous and suspicious Directory. He divided the army among several marshals because he was afraid of the prestige and power that a single commander might have obtained. He distrusted everybody but himself.

He wrote to Bertrand : " I desire that in future all the furniture which may come from Genoa or Leghorn shall be accepted in an official report made by the valet upholsterer, the caretaker, and Mr. Deschamps, who will decide between them the question of quality and price. These decisions will be sent to the Commissaries, who will see that attention is paid to their being forwarded. Two tables from Genoa have been received which are already incapable of being used. I shall take the small desk which has come from Leghorn, if it has not gone : it will be of use for me at Saint Martin."[1]

When the secretary had copied out this order Napoleon initialled it and gave it to one of his orderlies, who took it to the Grand Marshal, who had three copies made by his secretary, and sent one to each of the officials concerned, who were probably in the Mulini Palace all the time. The committee of three would then arrange a meeting ; if the small desk had not " gone " by the time these preliminaries had been completed, the committee would inspect it, draw up and sign a written report as to its value, and send it to the Commissaries, who between them would then deliver the desk. The price would be that of Napoleon's agents, without regard to the demands of the vendor. That was the course Napoleon ordered and desired. What actually happened, no doubt, was that Deschamps and the vendor made a bargain.

[1] Registre, No. 90.

At the age of nineteen Napoleon wrote out a Constitution for the Calotte of the regiment of La Fère, in which he was then a Lieutenant. The Calotte was a meeting of the Lieutenants of a regiment, to consider some question of conduct which may have arisen among them. Napoleon's Constitution—his first—contained provisions for the creation of a number of new officials of the Calotte, including a Grand Master of the Ceremonies—Bertrand, as it were—two Infallibles, and two Juniors. Napoleon's chief anxiety was to prevent these officials from pulling together. He reported that as a result of his regulations: "You will not therefore have any more reason, Gentlemen, to fear that an interest contrary to your own may unite them." And again, "The Grand Master of the Ceremonies should not be too close to the persons of power." Even the young officers who had just joined were suspect. They were not to be allowed full voting power, because they could not be forced to unite except by a corrupt inducement.

This Calotte Constitution was based upon distrust of the people and of the officials. If the new arrivals, the plebs of the society, vote together it is from a corrupt motive; if the officials become on good terms with each other it is to get the better of the members of the society. A good Constitution therefore must limit the rights of voting; it must provide for a large number of officials to act as checks against each other: it must contain elaborate and rigid rules for their conduct; and to please everybody and to emphasise their importance the officials should be given high-sounding names. That was precisely the system of the Man at Elba. It was that of the bureaucratic autocrat.

On the small stage of Elba the absurdity of this grandiloquent officialdom was remarked by every observer. Gourgaud, when told by Bertrand at St. Helena that "His Majesty dictated letters about the purchase of fowls, ducks, meat, and all eatables as if he was dealing at Paris with affairs of the greatest importance," could hardly believe it. Sad and

THE VILLA SAN MARTINO, ELBA

From a contemporary drawing in the collection of the Vicomte de Ferrière

pathetic as it is to reflect that this was the Emperor Napoleon, the humiliation experienced by the members of the suite on receiving such orders also deserves commiseration. "We were more unhappy at Portoferraio than here," continued Bertrand. "We had quitted the finest throne in the world, insulted by all, to go to a tiny little island."[1] The title assumed by the conqueror of Europe, "Napoleon, Emperor and King of the island of Elba," seemed specially designed to cast ridicule on the servants as well as on their master. Napoleon came to see the degradation of such a parody and in the end cast it off, but that he should ever have consented to it is deplorable.

Napoleon had for some years been suffering from a mental disease known as megalomania, colloquially called "swelled head." He was still the greatest military commander of the day. Though naturally he had no longer the energy of his youth, he could still prepare a campaign and conduct a battle with his old ability; but there was now a clot of unnatural Hapsburg blood upon his brain, which produced conceit and arrogance, with their results—lack of caution, waste of time, indifference to the losses to which he subjected his armies. The Commander now treated opposition as only an Emperor should, with disdain. To speak of possible failure was *lèse-majesté*. He said so plainly to Montalivet who in 1814, when affairs were desperate, adverted to the Bourbon aspirations. The Emperor told him sharply that merely to mention the name was an offence to his person. The injurious effect of living in this rarefied air is shown by the significant fact that after his admission into the bosom of the Hapsburg family every campaign ended in defeat. The husband of the Archduchess Marie Louise had no success in war. Crippled in 1812, driven off in 1813, dethroned in 1814, annihilated in 1815, that was the record of the son-in-law of the Emperor Francis.

The Austrian marriage ruined him because it paralysed

[1] Gourgaud, "Journal Inédit," Vol. II, p. 221.

his genius by casting into it the self-complacence of the Royal Personage. To all unanointed observers it was plain that, believing himself to belong to the race of gods, he was cheerfully attempting more than a man could achieve.

At Elba the symptoms of the disease were exhibited to a distressing extent by his imperial decrees about his ducks and his dogs, his two brigades formed from five mules, and the rest of the pitiful tale.

One is reminded of the career of another man of Italian race, the Tribune of the People, Cola di Rienzo, better known to us as Rienzi. As the result of a revolution there was no Pope at Rome and the city was in the hands of a set of rascally, licentious nobles; just as France after the execution of Louis XVI was misgoverned by the Directors. Rienzi, like Napoleon, was a reader, and had a lively imagination, and his vanity and ambition made him a hater of the nobles and supporter of the people. In the absence of the Pope he was raised by the people to the position of the head of the Government. He began well, curtailing the power of the nobles and abating many abuses. But he was too successful, became inflated with pride, had himself knighted and crowned on the 15th August (Napoleon's birthday), gave himself extravagant titles, and declared that he was filled with the Holy Ghost (the "destiny" of Napoleon). He was now a mere tyrant. Having been very lean in figure he became excessively fat. "It is said," wrote Muratori, "that in person he was of old quite meagre; he had become enormously fat and jovial as an abbot." Napoleon had been very thin, in his youth, and became later, according to several observers, "like a fat priest." Accused of the intention of restoring the Empire in his own person, and thus making himself the chief monarch in Europe, Rienzi was overthrown and fled from Rome. But Rome relapsed into disorder, and he returned (as it were from Elba) for a second lease of power. But the Romans were now no longer capable of enduring his tyranny, and the end soon came; he was killed by the mob.

The story is oddly similar to that of Napoleon in some of the details ; in principle it is identical. Rienzi and Napoleon were Italians. In youth they had the lean and hungry look of ambitious men. Desire for personal success made them hate those above them and take the part of the plebs. The head of the State having been removed by a revolution gave the opportunity of obtaining the vacant post. After a short period of good government the inherent vanity and ambition obtained complete control. They became self-indulgent tyrants with extravagant desires of world domination ; even in body they became swollen. Sudden success, accompanied by despotic power, trying enough to all men, is overpowering to the Italian, causing a disastrous growth of pride, tyranny, and self-indulgence.

It has been supposed that Napoleon was a man of no heart. Pons, who studied his character with care, could not understand how such an idea could have arisen : he said that Napoleon's first impulse was that of the heart, which he quickly controlled ; that he tried to hide his feelings, not always with success, for he could not speak of his son without being visibly moved ; that " his heart was as weak as his mind was strong. One could have made him do many things by appealing to his feelings."[1]

Allowing for some extravagance of expression, there is much to be said in favour of this unusual verdict. Letizia told Pons that as a child Napoleon would share his toys and sweets with other children, without demanding a return. As a man he was most generous to all his old friends, while to his enemies he was without rancour, and was often magnanimous. As a young officer he was considered a good comrade and he had warm friends. In his Calotte essay he asked : " What unlucky man is there who has not two intimate acquaintances among his comrades ? " Though he became afterwards, as he himself said, " *un être politique*," the man beneath cannot have entirely changed. Few

[1] Pons, pp. 125, 188, 198.

commanders have been adored as he was by his soldiers. No heartless man could have written the following letter, from General Bonaparte to his brother Joseph, in 1795, when the Bonaparte fortunes were at a low ebb: "In whatever position fortune and events may place thee, thou knowest well, my friend, that thou canst not have a better and dearer friend who desires most sincerely thy happiness. Life is a light dream which is soon dissipated. If thou dost depart and dost think it is for some time" (here there is the mark of a tear on the manuscript) "send me thy portrait. We have lived so many years together, so closely united, that our hearts are intermingled. Thou knowest better than anyone how entirely mine is given to thee. I feel while tracing these lines an emotion of which I have had few experiences in my life. I know that it will be long before we meet" (another tear stain) "and I cannot continue my letter. Good-bye, my friend. Napoléon." Meneval, who was brought much in contact with the Emperor, declared that he had often been the witness and the confidant of his feelings, which showed a keen and expansive sensibility.

Napoleon said once that he had never loved anybody except Joseph perhaps a little. It is not easy for a man to judge his own character, even on such a point. Napoleon was in the habit of assuming the part of a being removed above the influence of all human emotions. But he wrote letters to Josephine which expose the affectation. Many reputedly tender-hearted men are incapable of such a love as Napoleon had for Josephine. He was very fond of Pauline; no man ever praised more highly his mother; and in spite of their treachery he always spoke tenderly of Élise and Caroline. He was devoted to Marie Louise and made even that self-centred individual fancy that she loved him. His love for his son was noticed by many observers. One day he dropped by accident a tobacco-box on which was a picture of the King of Rome. Though no longer able to stoop without effort he picked it up with alacrity, and finding it was

not broken exclaimed: "*Mon pauvre petit chou*" (My poor little darling). He added: "I have in me some, indeed much, of the tenderness of a mother, and I am not ashamed of it. I should never believe in the affection of a man who being a father did not love his children."[1] The hard fate of his son, his Astyanax, was a source of intense sorrow to Napoleon. Yet he has been regarded as an unnatural monster, a being all brain and no heart. The sounder and keener the brain the truer and more active must be the beating of the heart.

In his public life Napoleon was a cruel and callous man, indifferent to human suffering, and contemptuous of mankind. He took into his private life much of his egotistical and tyrannical manner, but he was a man of warm feelings for all that, and he showed it whenever the politician had been exorcised.

Though Pons was a great admirer he was not a blind worshipper. He observes: "The Emperor gave encouragement to intriguers by giving ear to them. He listened willingly to what was told him. He was always on guard. What a sad condition is that which induces a man to regard the bad side of human nature as precisely human nature itself."[2] The quarrels which went on around Napoleon's person were the result of his encouragement of delators. It was known that he despised all mankind, and was ready and anxious to believe evil of all his attendants. Each one denounced his colleague and knew that he was being denounced in turn. Napoleon himself created that deadly atmosphere, in which he could not permanently thrive; for loyal support was necessary to him and he killed it.

Pons makes the following significant remarks: "The Emperor had his faults, prejudices, and caprices. Amongst his faults the Emperor had one which by its untoward character and frequent appearance was always wounding, and which without doubt was the cause of the hatreds which

[1] Pons, p. 69. The story reached Paris. (Firmin-Didot, "Royauté ou Empire," p. 43.)

[2] Pons, p. 92.

were so inexorably relentless in compassing his fall. The Emperor would not get in a rage, even when he was indignant, but in a first impulse of hastiness, he would use words which caused most cruel wounds which did not cease to bleed. The Emperor was often aware that he had wounded, and when he realised the hurt he had given, he endeavoured at once to cure it. He did not always succeed."[1]

This passage explains much. Napoleon would say things, when he was angry, which few men could forgive. He made many enemies, and destroyed many friendships, by grossly offensive remarks. He thought he was powerful enough to indulge in the feelings of the moment, and gave vent to brutalities of speech which seldom occur in civilised society. When he found himself in need of friends he had to pay the penalty.

[1] Pons, p. 191.

CHAPTER XVII

THE ELBAN MESSAGE

AMONG those who were attracted to Elba by the presence of the Emperor there were intriguing Italians with their schemes for a Napoleonic kingdom of Italy, and Corsicans, with an occasional Frenchman, seeking employment. The visitors who had no personal object in view, save that of gazing at a prodigy, were English. Some of them were admitted to the privilege of private audience. Napoleon delivered to them the explanation of his conduct, the political manifesto which he desired should be published to the world.

The official position of Neil Campbell, and his permanent residence on the island, made him the chief recipient of these declarations, which he duly reported to his Government.

Viscount Ebrington, afterwards Earl of Fortescue, was received at 8 p.m. on the 6th December, for three hours of standing, or walking up and down the room. On the 8th he was invited to dinner at seven, and the conversation lasted till eleven.[1]

Major Vivian and Mr. Wildman arrived from Leghorn in the *Partridge* on the 22nd January, 1815. After the necessary overtures through Bertrand they were received by Napoleon from 8.30 p.m. to 9.45 p.m. on the 26th January, in the Mulini Palace; the room of the ground floor into which they were ushered was fitted up with the faded yellow furniture

[1] Ebrington, Viscount, "Memorandum of two conversations with the Emperor Napoleon on the 6th and 8th of December, 1814," 1823.

from Élise's palace at Piombino. Vivian published an account of the interview in the year 1839. He and his friend were attired in the uniform of the Cornwall Militia, to which they belonged, and Napoleon began by making several enquiries about the corps. He also asked if the Prince Regent, as Duke of Cornwall, had rights over the mines, and asked how much he got, and was told it was £10,000 a year.

Of Napoleon's manner and appearance Vivian writes :—

"We stood during the whole time, I may say almost *nez à nez;* for I had my back against the table, and he had advanced close to me, looking full in my face. His strain and manner were as familiar and good-natured as possible, so very much so that I felt no hesitation whatever in putting any question to him. He had on a green coat, cut off in front, faced with the same colour, and trimmed with red at the skirts, and wore the stars of two orders. Under his left arm he held his hat, and in his hand a plain snuff-box, from which he every now and then took a pinch ; but as he occasionally sneezed, it appeared to me that he was not addicted to snuff-taking. His hair was without powder and quite straight ; his shape, inclined to corpulence."[1]

On the 12th December, 1814, Lord John Russell had an interview which he referred to in a short letter written at the time, as follows :—

"He is in person stout and very fat, without much majesty in his air and still less terror in his look—he was, indeed, extremely good-natured, and during the two hours I was alone with him talked and encouraged me to talk on every subject. He is of opinion that there will be no war in Europe at present, but he thinks it likely that the Congress will spin out a long time, and that Russia will keep Poland, and Prussia Saxony,

[1] Vivian, J. H, "Minutes of a conversation with Napoleon Bonaparte at Elba in January, 1815," p. 25.

BONAPARTE AT ELBA

From a sketch taken by an officer on the spot. In the collection of A. M. Broadley

as it were in abeyance. He is very gay and certainly not unhappy, but at the same time I do not think him easy in his present situation, and very far indeed from the tranquillity of a philosopher. He spends his time chiefly in building and furnishing a country house about two miles from his wretched palace in Portoferraio."[1]

Lord John wrote in his diary: "His manner is very good-natured, and seems studied to put one at one's ease by its familiarity; his smile and laugh are very agreeable; he asks a number of questions without object, and often repeats them, a habit which he has no doubt acquired during fifteen years of supreme command. To this I should also attribute the ignorance he seems to show at times of the most common facts."

Fifty-four years later, in 1868, Earl Russell, as he then had become, wrote, for private circulation, an account of the interview. Lord Russell's chief recollection was that Napoleon appeared to be alarmed regarding his safety owing to the report that he was to be sent to St. Helena, and that he seemed to be meditating some enterprise.

On 19th September, 1814, a party of Englishmen, consisting of Colonel Lemoine, R.A., Colonel Douglas, Major Maxwell, R.A., Captain Smith, and Mr. Scott, an undergraduate at Cambridge, went to Porto Longone, where the Emperor was at that time, in the hope of seeing him. Napoleon agreed to receive them out of doors, on his return from a ride. Mr. Scott, the chronicler of the meeting, writes:—

"We stood in a lane about five yards wide. The Emperor approached. We drew back and formed a line on his right, standing uncovered. He stopped his horse short and touched his hat.

"The *first* impression on my mind was: can this be the great Napoleon? Is that graceless figure—so clumsy, so

[1] The original letter is in the collection of the Earl of Crawford.

awkward—the figure that awed emperors and kings? It is surely impossible; and that countenance; it is totally devoid of expression; it appears, even, to indicate stupidity! Such was the *first* impression, and though I soon found reason to change my opinion concerning his countenance, I still continue to think the figure of Napoleon very unmartial, clumsy, and awkward. He looks about forty-five years of age, has a very large *corporation*, and his thighs are large, quite out of proportion.

"He wore a cock hat low over his eyes, which in some measure contributes to give him the stupid appearance at first sight. This hat is very high behind, low before. Its brownness seemed to indicate that it had stood many a campaign. It bore a cockade of white and red. He wore a great military coat faced with red; the skirts of it began to slope off as high as the stomach; above that it was close-buttoned, and as his neck is very short, one could scarcely see his black stock. He had two shabby silver epaulets, a shabby star on his breast as Commander of the Legion of Honour, and three small decorations of the Orders of the Legion of Honour, Reunion, and Iron Crown. Under his coat appeared a red sash, the Grand Cord of the Legion. He had a white waistcoat, white breeches, and white gloves. His boots were old and shabby; his silver spurs were fastened with black buckles. He rode a small Corsican brown horse, with holsters in his saddle and a dirty bridle and bit. Though his clothes were old, his person looked clean and neat.

"He leans very forward in riding. While he was talking to us his horse suddenly lifted up his hind foot, and Napoleon turned quickly round, as if he were nervous. He took snuff only once during the twenty-two minutes he talked with us; he took it out of a small black box on which were three cameos. His hand was particularly white, his fingers small and tapering. His hair is black and hangs down very long in candle-ends (to use a term more expressive than elegant) over his coat-collar. Yet it is clean looking. His eyes are

blue and small, eyebrows black and rather large, his nose and mouth handsome, and of moderate size, his chin not very pointed, his complexion pale, rather yellowish, and has much of that appearance which I might call doughy. His forehead is square and prominent. He spoke quickly and incessantly. His voice is deep, and he speaks rather abruptly."

The conversation was of little interest, being confined to personal matters. Napoleon asked each officer in turn as to his corps, his rank, and his active service, and ascertained that Scott was at "Camerige," as the Emperor pronounced the word. Scott concludes his account thus :—

"During the whole of our interview there was a constant half-smile on his countenance, and he has the air of perfect contentment. His eye is remarkably expressive and quick; his eye and voice inspire respect, and his manner indicated great talent; but his smile gives confidence and ease to those who hear him. My companions were unanimous in the opinion that he has more the appearance of a clever, crafty priest than of a hero. His figure is decidedly the reverse of heroic."[1]

Mr. G. F. Vernon, M.P., a cousin of Lord Holland, arrived at Portoferraio on 18th November, 1814, with a friend, Mr. Fazakerley. While waiting to be received by Bertrand, Vernon remarked to the secretary: "It is said that Napoleon has become much fatter here." "Yes," said the secretary, "in his place I would have made myself swollen with a pistol shot."[2]

They went to San Martino, and while there the Emperor arrived in a carriage, and allowed them to be introduced. A political conversation of some interest ensued, from which

[1] Printed in the "Daily Mail," 24th February, 1909.
[2] "Sketch of a conversation with Napoleon at Elba," by G. F. Vernon. "Miscellanies of Philobiblion Society," Vol. VIII, 1863.

some quotations are given in the ensuing pages. Napoleon and the two visitors were compelled, by reason of Imperial etiquette, to stand for nearly four hours while the talk proceeded, and the Englishmen were much fatigued before it was over. Being shown over the San Martino house, they observed in Napoleon's small bedroom a miniature of the King of Rome.

Mr. Frederick Darling, M.P., son of Lord Glenbervie, was also received. "Why have you come?" asked Napoleon. "To see a great man?" "Rather to see a wild beast," was the retort.

The political pronouncements of Napoleon to his English visitors at Elba have been too much neglected. Though this Elban message does not compare, in elaboration and scope, with the legend that was created at St. Helena, it has a special value of its own in revealing the mental attitude of Napoleon at the time. He did not consider his career finally closed. He was not engaged upon memoirs. He was occupied with the cause of his fall, and the prospects before him, and was not entirely absorbed, as at St. Helena, in explaining the past. Though he touched upon many phases of his career, it is only with his pronouncements on the living issues of the time that we are here concerned; and all that he said to his English visitors concerning England is also of special significance.

He told Lord Ebrington that he wished to keep the Peace of Amiens, but that the English broke it; that if Fox had lived there would have been no war.[1] To Mr. Vernon he said that the cause of the breaking of the Treaty was that he would not agree to the treaty of commerce proposed by England, which would have been disadvantageous to France.[2]

The Treaty of Amiens was nullified by the warlike aggressions of Napoleon. He may have desired, at the time, a prolongation of the peace until he had strengthened his hold

[1] Ebrington, p. 22. [2] Vernon, p. 28.

on France and extended his power on the Continent. But war with England was his settled policy, and he would have forced it whenever the time appeared propitious.

The remark about Fox came from an ignorance about English political conditions which was common on the Continent in his day and is still prevalent. The belief that the Opposition would, when in power, be prepared to make a one-sided or humiliating peace, has been one of the stock delusions about England. Napoleon held it firmly, and it was one of his most disastrous mistakes. He was always expecting that if war lasted long enough, a peace-at-any-price party would have its turn in England, and then he would be able to do as he liked with English interests.

He said that his detention of English travellers was in retaliation for the English having made prizes at sea before declaration of war. " I am sure that you thought in England that, after all, I was right, and had shown character in what I did. Eh, I am something of a corsair like yourselves."

The seizure of vessels before declaration of war was not unusual, nor against international law; the detention of travellers was both. Napoleon seized all English of both sexes whom he could lay his hands upon, in France or Italy, and kept them in custody as prisoners of war for eleven years, until they were released by his fall. Such unheard-of brutality was in flagrant defiance of the usages of all civilised nations. He thought the English would admire him for what he himself described as a piratical action; and he desired the respect of the people whom he regarded as fellow-pirates. But perhaps these remarks were merely an endeavour to save face, for in 1815 he declined, when the proposal was made, to order a repetition of the barbarity.

He often spoke to Englishmen of the proposed invasion of England. He told Campbell that " he never intended to make the attempt without a superiority of fleet to protect the flotilla. This superiority would have been obtained for a few days by leading our fleet out to the West Indies, and

suddenly returning. If they arrived three or four days before ours in the Channel, it would be sufficient. The flotilla would immediately push out, accompanied by the fleet, and as he should march immediately to London, he should prefer landing on the coast of Kent. He had 100,000 men in all." Asked what he proposed to do after arriving in London, he replied that "it was difficult to answer that question, for a people with spirit and energy like the English was not subdued even by taking possession of their capital. He would certainly have separated Ireland from Great Britain, and the occupation of the capital would have been a death-blow to our funds, credit, and commerce. He had made all his calculations and reduced his landing to a perfect certainty. On being pressed whether he had not merely been preparing an army for other operations, he denied it, and said he certainly intended to put his plans into execution."

On another occasion he said: "This danger must always hang over England. An invasion is perfectly practicable whenever France can assemble a larger army than England, and at the same time obtain, for a week or ten days, the command of the Channel with her fleet. On this account the formation of the port of Cherbourg is a serious consideration for England. Our possessions are so extensive, that we must have fleets to guard them, and to watch the movements which may be directed against them. While engaged in this, it is easy to mislead so great a proportion of the British Navy, that the French must infallibly obtain that superiority in the Channel which is required for a time, in order to effect the invasion. He meant to command the troops in person. No British force could be collected in sufficient numbers to oppose him; and success he considered certain."

Although at another time he said that he never intended to invade England, and was merely luring on Austria to attack him, it must be supposed that, if protected by the French fleet at the proper time, he would have made the attempt, because in that case it would have been impossible

to have declined the enterprise, after so much display, without serious loss of reputation. Whether he really wished to be given the chance is very doubtful. The invasion project gave him an excuse for the creation of the superb army which he turned away from the Channel for the conquest of Europe.

He was mistaken in supposing that Villeneuve had decoyed Nelson away to the West Indies, and that the return of the French fleet would have given him the temporary command of the Channel. Nelson followed Villeneuve in order to bring him to battle, and to protect the West Indian islands. He had satisfied himself that Barham had ample strength left to prevent a crossing. If Villeneuve had appeared in the Channel he would have been destroyed.

To Mr. Vernon he said that he did not make peace at Dresden because he thought he could hold the line of the Elbe. "However, I do not assert that if the same situation were to arise again I would not act in another manner."[1] In short, he miscalculated his strength.

"France is nothing without Antwerp, for while Brest and Toulon are blockaded, a fleet can be equipped there, wood being brought from Poland. He never would consent to give it up, having sworn at his coronation not to diminish France. . . . It was a great object for England to have Antwerp in possession of her former ally, Holland, and taken from France. He was perfectly ready to have made peace at Chatillon if Antwerp had been left to France. It was England, therefore, that prevented the peace." In contradiction to this, he said one day that he had himself openly asserted that if he made peace at Chatillon he would not be able to keep it for three months.[2]

Napoleon was never ready to make peace, either at Chatillon in 1814 or on any other occasion, except as a conqueror. In moments of depression and disaster he turned reluctantly

[1] Vernon, p. 37.
[2] Ussher, p. 62. Vernon, p. 37. Campbell, pp. 315, 333.

to such thoughts, but he soon recovered and was as defiant as ever. In 1814 the Allies were no longer desirous of peace except on their own terms, and there was no reason to suppose that he would ever accept them.

"The soldiers of the army were naturally attached to me, as I was their comrade. I had some success with them, and they knew that I recompensed them well, but now they feel that they count for nothing. There are at present 700,000 men in France who have carried arms, and the last campaigns have served only to show how superior they are to all their enemies. They do justice to the valour of our troops, but despise all the rest."[1]

"There could be no quiet in Europe if the French were humiliated, and reduced out of proportion with the other leading Powers. England with all her wealth, her foreign possessions, and her maritime power! Austria with all Italy! Prussia with Mayence, and as far as Luxembourg! The French at Danzig were not so extraordinary as the Prussians at Luxembourg. What a humiliation for France after so many years of preponderance gained by her glory. Holland with Belgium! There would be a violent reaction of the whole nation before five years were over, similar to what took place at the Revolution, in consequence of their humiliation and so great a diminution of frontier. The Rhine was the natural boundary. Every man in France considered it so, and this opinion would never alter. He knew, by persons from France, that there was a universal disgust there at their present humiliation, and that the Bourbons had very few partisans in the army, and among the bulk of the population."[2]

"He pointed out, as he had frequently done before, the impolicy of humiliating France, that the ferment there would soon break out one day or other, and the sovereigns of Europe would then perhaps, for their own interest and repose,

[1] Lord Ebrington, p. 7. [2] Campbell, pp. 315–17.

NAPOLEON'S STUDY IN THE VILLA SAN MARTINO, 1914

find it necessary to call him in to tranquillise the country. . . . The present government is too feeble. The Bourbons should make war as soon as possible, in order to establish themselves upon the throne. With such an army as they could assemble it would not be difficult to recover Belgium. It is only for the British there that the French army has the smallest awe."[1]

"He said he would have given up Germany, Holland, Italy, and Spain, but would never have agreed to leave France smaller than he found her. Belgium he excluded. He said that a battle lost before Brussels would open the road to Holland and Antwerp; he supposed England wanted Antwerp."[2]

These conversations took place in November and December, 1814, and January, 1815. Earlier, in May, 1814, Napoleon had spoken in the same tone, but had given the Bourbons six months only. After citing the "humiliations" of France, he had said: "The people of France will not remain tranquil under it, not even six months after the foreign Powers have quitted Paris."[3]

Although he had now to admit that the Revolution had not come as soon as he had expected, he still believed that it would come, and then he would be sent for, "to tranquillise the country." And evidently, if he were to be called upon, the first thing he would do would be to retrieve the humiliations France had sustained, by giving play to the martial ardour of the nation, and leading the army to the recovery of Belgium and Holland. A battle gained before Brussels would give him Holland and Antwerp. While he was supposed to be absorbed in the organisation and management of his petty little kingdom, he was, in fact, planning the Waterloo campaign.

At St. Helena Napoleon told his followers that already at Fontainebleau he had thought of the return from Elba.

[1] Campbell, pp. 329, 347. [2] Vivian, p. 17.
[3] Ussher, p. 87. Campbell, p. 242.

"The abdication of Fontainebleau had been merely conditional, in my inmost thoughts. Davout, the Duc de Bassano, and Caulaincourt were aware of it. They alone were the confidants of my hope in the resurrection of the Empire; they believed, with me, that the Bourbons were incorrigible, that they would come back as they were when they left, feudal kings."[1] Campbell reports that, on one occasion, after dinner, he "continued the conversation with great agitation of manner until midnight, having then been for three hours on his legs. He seemed to regret his abdication. Had he known that it was owing to the treachery of Augereau only that that part of his army fell back behind Lyons, he would have united his own army to it, even after Marmont's capitulation.[2] . . . Napoleon certainly regrets that he gave up the contest, and has almost declared to me that, had he known the spirit and power of Augereau's army, and that its exertions were only paralysed by the defection of that Marshal, he would have joined it and carried the war into Italy." On another occasion, however, he said that "he had now no regret in his abdication, nor yet in his refusal of the last propositions for peace. He would do the same over again."[3]

He might have been still in France and have prolonged for some years the conflict, but against united Europe he could not hope in the circumstances of the time to prevail in the end. "I decided to spare France a civil war, and I consider myself dead, for to die and to be here are the same thing."[4]

"Here he related the view of affairs which had induced him to abdicate. He could have supported the war for years, and perhaps have carried it out of the kingdom. But although the people would have flocked to his standard, and the army would have stood firm, this would have been the ruin of France. With the armies of Blücher and Schwartzenberg

[1] Récits, Vol. I, p. 225.
[2] Campbell, p. 223.
[3] Campbell, pp. 243, 333.
[4] Vernon, p. 36.

in Paris, Wellington pressing forward from Toulon, Augereau beaten at Lyons (for he did not then know that he was indisposed to exert himself at all), a faction in Paris against him, and the Senate weak enough to assemble by the orders of their enemy, he had no hesitation in descending from the throne, as it appeared to be the only way of saving France. But he would never have done so had not Marmont deserted him, except, indeed, on the regency of the Empress and her son being secured. In his own person he could not even consent to any peace except according to such a treaty as that proposed at Frankfort. It was not for the sake of a crown that he had continued the war, but for the glory of his country, for plans which he now saw no prospect of realising. He wished to have made France the first nation in the world, but now it was at an end."[1]

From all this it may be concluded that while Napoleon regretted that he had not made peace in 1813, he still could not imagine himself agreeing to the Chatillon terms of 1814, which would have left France smaller than he found her. No doubt he regretted also, though he did not admit it, having left Paris undefended in 1814; but when the city had capitulated he could see no alternative to abdication. He buoyed himself up from the Fontainebleau days with the belief—partly genuine and partly forced—that his turn would come again.

To make sure that his hopes should not be suspected, he frequently used the phrase, "*Je suis un homme mort.*" Campbell reports: "He repeated this latter expression several times." And again: "I do not think of anything beyond my little island. I could have sustained the war for twenty years if I had wished it. I exist no longer for the world. I am a dead man. I am occupied in nothing but my family and my retreat, my house, my cows, and my mules."[2]

[1] Campbell, pp. 222, 333.

[2] Campbell, pp. 222, 229.

In his remarks about Italy he showed his desire to be on good terms with his neighbours. He might some day have to rely upon them. Accordingly, he "expressed some regret at having taken away so many fine things from Italy. 'I was a little unjust in that,' he said, 'but I was thinking only of France.'"[1] He was thinking only of himself. As Republican General, in 1796, he expressly announced that he was leading his troops to a land where booty of all kinds could be obtained. He sent Italian money, horses, and carriages to the Directors, to please them and get the better of Moreau and Pichegru on the Rhine, who were unable to send anything; and he sent works of art to make his name popular among all classes, as an advertisement of his prowess.

He spoke several times to Campbell about Italy. "In the course of his remarks as to the discontent of the Italians, he traced the evils which existed in Italy to the influence of the clergy, and attributed the discontent which was increasing daily, among other causes, more particularly to the national pride in losing the name of the kingdom. These evils were too extensive and radical to be influenced by Naples alone, or by Murat. He praised the Italians and ridiculed the Germans. He would engage always to beat thirty thousand Germans with twenty thousand Italians. The former were stupid, slow, and without pride, contented with their pipe, cows, and farms; whereas the latter were quick and proud, and had now become military. He had quite changed their habits and abolished much of their degeneracy. All the young men were attached to the French from having served with them in the army, and their minds were bent upon the formation of Italy into a kingdom. The government of France had only been nominal. That part of Italy which had been incorporated with French departments was only to have remained so until certain of his projects were fully realised, and the people knew this. They held their places and felt themselves as one people and one

[1] Ebrington, p. 14.

kingdom, from Piedmont to Naples. After this it was impossible for them to be reconciled to the changes which were now being made, through the Austrians, with different languages and names, the disgusting measures of the King of Sardinia, and those of the Pope and his priestcraft."[1]

The French conquerors had not been hated quite so much as the Austrians, but the Italians wished to be free from all foreign domination. Napoleon did not propose to establish an independent kingdom of Italy.

The thirty thousand Germans whom he could beat with twenty thousand Italians would not have been Prussians, for to Major Vivian he said that "the Prussians had fought well in 1814." Vivian adds that Napoleon despised the Dutch troops, spoke with contempt of the Austrians, and said the Spaniards were poor soldiers. To Campbell he said that "the Prussians were infinitely the best of all the Allies." To Mr. Vernon he said: "The British troops are worth much more than any others: after them I regard the Prussians as the best."[2] At this time Napoleon had never met British troops in battle.

Speaking of the composite army, consisting mainly of Austrians, under Schwartzenberg, in 1814, he said that he "knew well the composition of the Allied army as compared with his own." Again, "In remarking on his confidence in his own troops, particularly his Old Guards, and the inefficiency of the Allies, he referred to me to say candidly if it was not so. '*Dites-moi, Combell, franchement; n'est-ce pas vrai?*' I told him it was; that when with the Allies, I never yet saw a considerable portion of his army, but everyone spoke of 'the Emperor and his Guards,' as if there was something in them more than human to be dreaded—that the inferiority which he conceived of Schwartzenberg's army was justly founded. There was no confidence in themselves or in their Allies. Each party thought he did too much, and his Allies too little; and they were half beaten before

[1] Campbell, p. 312. [2] Vernon, p. 26.

they closed with the French. However, in assenting to his character of the Allies, I requested him not to include Wellington's army; and I added that the French officers of the army from Spain did us ample justice in this respect."[1]

To his English visitors he spoke often, and with much flattery of their nation, and he also habitually expressed himself in a similar manner to his French followers. He despised every nation of the Continent, France included, but had a genuine admiration for England, and was confident that whenever he chose he could find a refuge in England, with a warm and generous welcome. At Fontainebleau and on the journey to Elba he had already expressed himself on these lines, and he continued to do so when on the island. "He said that in England he would have society, and enjoy an opportunity of explaining the circumstances of his life, and doing away with many prejudices, such as was not possible in the island of Elba. In England he could even see and communicate with his partisans better than at Elba; four-fifths of the French people were in his favour."[2]

"He asked what would happen to him if he went to England; would he be stoned? I replied that he would be perfectly safe there, as the violent feelings which had been excited against him were daily subsiding, now that we were no longer at war. He said, smiling, he thought there would always be some risk for him from the London mob."[3]

These remarks leave no room for doubt as to the policy Napoleon would have pursued if he had found a refuge in England. He would have endeavoured to propitiate English opinion by "explaining" his actions, and overcoming the prejudice they had produced; and he would have made use of his propinquity to France for carrying on intrigues,

[1] Campbell, p. 221. [2] Campbell, p. 329.
[3] Lord Ebrington, p.15.

with the design of recovering his position. But he feared the London mob, which he supposed would be fiercer and wilder even than that of Paris.

Of the French people, he said to Ussher, who had remarked that he thought they had shown great ingratitude towards him: "*Oh! c'est un peuple léger.*" To Campbell he said that "their chief failings were pride and the love of glory."

"Enlarging for some time upon the influence which he possessed over the minds of French soldiers in the field, he said that under him they performed what no other chief could obtain from them. This he ascribed to his manner of talking to them on particular occasions. With soldiers it is not so much the speech itself as the mode of delivering it. Here he raised himself on his toes, looked up to the ceiling, and lifting one of his hands to its utmost extent, called out: '*Déployez les aigles! Déployez les aigles!*' (Unfurl the eagles). He then related to me that when the battle of Marengo was almost lost, he redeemed it by calling out to the men, who were then in perfect rout. He had then with himself only about forty horsemen, but by putting himself at the head of the retiring troops, and speaking to them in a certain tone and manner, they rallied immediately, crying out: '*Allons donc, en avant.*' It is like music, which either speaks to the soul, or, on the contrary, gives out sounds without harmony. It strikes me," concluded the matter-of-fact Campbell, "there was something *wild* in his air throughout this last visit, and in many of his observations, the above among others."[1]

This passage reveals Napoleon's dramatic instinct, his pertinacious exaggeration about every event in his career (for it was Desaix and Kellermann who regained the battle of Marengo when it was lost); and the strange emotional sentiment which he sometimes exhibited.

To Major Vivian Napoleon said that "the French soldiers

[1] Campbell, p. 302.

lacked tenacity, could not bear a check, as Cæsar had said."[1]

Of Murat Napoleon said to Lord Ebrington that he was "the most brilliant man he had ever seen on the field of battle; that it was a really superb sight to see him fighting at the head of the cavalry. He was a fine big man who took trouble about his appearance, which was sometimes fantastic —in short, a magnificent lazzarone." He used the same expression to Major Vivian: "Murat was a magnificent lazzarone," or, as we might say, a magnificent mountebank. Of his sister Caroline he said she was a pretty woman and very refined. Considering the recent treachery of his sister and her husband he might have been excused if he had spoken more harshly.

When Lord Ebrington expressed his "surprise at the admirable sang-froid with which he bore the change of his situation, Napoleon said: 'That is because everybody has, I believe, been more surprised than myself at what has happened. I have not too good an opinion of men, and I have always been prepared for what fortune might bring; besides, I have had very little enjoyment; my brothers were more like kings than I. They have had the enjoyments of royalty, while I have had little but its fatigues.'"[2]

One cannot admit that everybody had been more surprised than Napoleon at his fall, for there had always been a general expectation that it would ultimately occur, and after the retreat from Moscow, or at latest the battle of Leipzig, it might almost be said that "everybody" foresaw the end, except Napoleon himself. It had been noticed of him that on returning from a victorious campaign he was gloomy, abstracted, ill-humoured; possibly he was thinking he might have derived even greater advantages from his

[1] "Nam ut ad bella suscipienda Gallorum alacer et promptus est animus, sic mollis ac mimime resistens ad calamitates perferendas mens eorum est" (Cæsar, Book III, sec. 20). Livy has (Book X, chap. 28): "Primaque praelia plusquam virorum postrema minus quam feminarum esse."

[2] Lord Ebrington, p. 28.

triumph, or the relaxation and rest may have tried his active and energetic nature. But after a disaster he was always cheerful. The more desperate his situation the more satisfied and serene he appeared to be. He may have been summoning up to his own support his reserves of courage and tenacity; but it was chiefly of the observant world that he was thinking. To what extent he was suffering, whether much or little, we can only guess. Whatever his feelings, he maintained before the converging eyes of mankind a smiling and proud demeanour.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA

IN the autumn of 1814 representatives of the chief Powers met in consultation at Vienna to draw up a new map of Europe. As was inevitable there were serious disagreements; it was not possible to divide the spoils which had been taken from Napoleon, without bitter quarrels. Russia wanted Poland; Prussia wanted Saxony; France and Spain wanted a return of the Spanish Bourbons to Italy. Several times it seemed as if the only possible course was an appeal to the arbitrament of war. Indeed, when the enormous issues at stake are considered, the avoidance of war must be regarded as a triumph. A few years earlier, or later, peace might not have been maintained. At that particular time Europe was weary of war, and dreaded the thought of its recurrence—and there was always before the disputants the figure of the little man on the island of Elba, the God of War, who would rejoice to hear the guns firing amongst the former Allies, knowing that it could only turn to his own advantage. That terrible spectre haunted the meetings at Vienna. It was seldom mentioned, save in terms of affected contempt, but all knew of its existence, and were spurred on to settle their difficulties in one way or another, as best they could, from fear of the conqueror of Europe.

In spite of all difficulties agreements were finally reached. In February, 1815, only three points of importance remained. These were the future of Napoleon's wife and son; of Napoleon's sister Caroline and his brother-in-law Murat; and of Napoleon himself.

All these matters had been already settled by solemn treaties, but some members of the Congress, Talleyrand in particular, regarded a treaty as a temporary dodge and nothing more.

By the Treaty of Fontainebleau the Duchies of Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla were guaranteed to Marie Louise, Napoleon's wife, with reversion to the son of the Imperial couple, but France wanted these dominions to be restored to the legitimate owner, another Marie Louise, of Spain, widow of the Prince Louis of Parma. The Austrian Grand Duchess appealed to the Czar, and Alexander, who was in a special degree responsible for the Treaty of Fontainebleau, insisted that its provisions should be respected. His influence prevailed, but there was to be no reversion to the son of Napoleon.

The Naples problem proved more difficult. Nobody had a word to say in favour of Murat personally. He owed his kingdom to the fact that he had married Napoleon's sister, and that was now very far from being a recommendation. He had neither the royal blood, which was once again considered a necessity for a King, nor had he a character for fair and open dealing ; on the contrary, he was the son of an innkeeper, and he was a notoriously shifty man, who had already been a traitor to his own brother-in-law. The Czar said : " He is a *canaille* who has betrayed us all."

The continued presence of Murat on the throne of Naples was the perpetuation of a Napoleonic usurpation ; and Napoleon was so near, at Elba, that he would be able, in concert with Murat, to create disturbances in Italy which might lead to further troubles throughout Europe. Wellington wrote to Liverpool : " If he " (Murat) " were gone, Bonaparte in Elba would not be an object of great dread." But when Talleyrand urged the dethronement of Murat he found that Austria placed difficulties in the way. The disputes about Poland and Saxony made it necessary to consider the eventuality of a war between Austria and one or both of

the northern Powers. Then Austria would be obliged to withdraw her troops from Northern Italy, and leave that country exposed to the well-known ambition of Murat. It was essential to remain on good terms with him so long as that danger existed. Later, when the great disturbing questions had been settled at the Congress, Talleyrand found that Metternich was prepared to listen to his demand for the expulsion of Murat. There was, however, an obstacle in the way. By a Treaty of 8th January, 1814, Austria had given Murat a solemn guarantee of his kingdom, and had engaged to endeavour to obtain the same guarantee from the other Allied Powers. England had agreed to an armistice with Murat on the 26th January, and again on the 3rd February, 1814. Murat, in return, was to desert Napoleon and actively engage in war against the French. He did so, and in spite of Talleyrand's contempt, Austria showed a disinclination to repudiate the compact, without some plausible excuse. It was hoped that Murat would make a false step. It was ascertained that in 1813–14, while he was negotiating for the alliance with Austria and the other Powers, he was at the same time attempting to keep in with Napoleon. If he could now be discovered plotting with Napoleon the excuse for his dethronement would be supplied.

Murat and Caroline were well aware of their precarious position, and most anxious to avoid any appearance of collusion with Napoleon. Murat accordingly dismissed the former Neapolitan Consul at Portoferraio, to cut off all connection with the danger spot. Caroline declined to pay any attention to Napoleon's request that she should send him a cook, an upholsterer, books, etc. Napoleon then wrote to Cardinal Fesch at Rome, asking him to send him a great quantity of things, including, "two thousand hundredweight of wheat, twenty thousand bushels of oats, two thousand ewes, with their complement of rams, twenty milch cows, fifty orange trees," etc. The Cardinal, rather at a loss to execute such an order, wrote to Murat, and Caroline took

upon herself to reply to him, in the most explicit terms, on the 25th June, 1814 : " The present state of affairs forbids us to enter into any sort of intercourse with the island of Elba. The fate of Naples is still in the balance. Everything leads us to hope that the matter will be satisfactorily settled, but that hope will not be realised unless we proceed with the utmost caution. It pains me a great deal to be obliged to reply to you in this way, but the King's future and that of my children leave me no alternative."[1]

Murat, however, was in his familiar rôle of double traitor. While endeavouring to keep with Austria he did not break with Napoleon. The Emperor's name was still powerful in Italy, and many Italians were looking towards him as their hope against the unbearable Austrians. Already on the 19th May at Turin a conspiracy had been formed for the purpose of making Napoleon King of Italy. A constitution for the new kingdom was prepared and forwarded to Napoleon.[2] When in January, 1815, the news reached Portoferraio of the discovery and arrest of some of the conspirators at Milan, Napoleon, in conversation with Campbell, laid much stress upon his having had nothing to do with the plan. He said : " Nothing will be discovered against me. At least it will not be found that I am compromised at all." " These expressions," adds Campbell, " as well as the whole tenor of his conversation upon the subject, bore evident marks of anxiety."[3]

Though no evidence was obtained against Napoleon, there was a general belief that he and Murat were conspiring together. Murat wrote to Napoleon a letter which the Emperor, in a communication to Bertrand, described as " very tender."[4] Caroline was too prudent to indulge in such effusions, which might easily fall into wrong hands.

An elaborate system of espionage was in force. The chief

[1] Espitalier, "Napoleon and King Murat," p. 457.
[2] Livi, "Napoleone all' isola d' Elba," pp. 41, 44, 61.
[3] Campbell, p. 352. [4] Correspondance, No. 21633.

French agent, Mariotti, was sent by Talleyrand to Leghorn, nominally as French Consul. Mariotti was a Corsican, who had been one of Élise's chief officials, and had been made by Napoleon an officer of the Legion of Honour; but he appears to have expected more rapid promotion, and had already turned against his compatriot before the Restoration. His Corsican spirit of vendetta, and his knowledge of Italian, obtained for him the appointment of chief spy in Italy upon Napoleon. It is characteristic of the Napoleonic atmosphere that, owing to Mariotti's former association with Napoleon's family, he was suspected both by the French Minister of Police and by Campbell of being in the pay of both sides. When Napoleon called him "a Corsican adventurer" Campbell noted in his diary: "I suspect that this abuse was purposely to deceive us."

Mariotti had agents reporting to him all along the Tuscan coast, and even at Portoferraio itself. Anglès, the French Minister of Police, also had agents at Portoferraio. General Spannochi Piccolomini, the Governor of Leghorn, had all the travellers from Elba carefully examined, both at Leghorn and all along the coast.[1] At Civita Vecchia there were the observers who reported to the Pope.

All Napoleon's correspondence through the post was opened, and much of it confiscated. From France nothing was forwarded, even newspapers being withheld. Anglès gave orders that travellers from Paris to Lyons should be rigorously examined for secret correspondence. At Bourges Madame Bertrand, who was on her way to Elba, was stopped, and her carriage and boxes were ransacked. Twelve letters were found, of which one was for Napoleon, and though not one of them was of any importance, they were all confiscated.[2]

In theory an independent monarch, Napoleon was in reality cut off from free communication through the post, and in that respect received the treatment of a prisoner. His

[1] "Rapporti di capitani," by Pietro Vigo. "Rivista Marittima," June, 1902. [2] G. Firmin-Didot, "Royauté ou Empire," p. 62.

indignation is shown in the following order to Bertrand: "Write to the Princess Pauline that I have received all the letters from Naples; tell her that I am hurt that I have been sent through Stahremberg opened letters, as if I was a prisoner and he was my gaoler, that I consider such conduct ridiculous and offensive, that in acting in this manner he has been wanting in respect to me and to himself. There are not lacking opportunities which might be used for writing to me. I think you ought not to acknowledge to Stahremberg the receipt of these letters.

"P.S.—They may write to me through Stahremberg, but hide the letters; he might think that if we make use of him we do not conceal anything."[1] Stahremberg was the Austrian Commander at Leghorn and Piombino.

Napoleon was thus forced to employ secret means for communicating private matters. Cardinal Fesch at Rome was entrusted with funds, and became the organiser of a band of counter-spies in various parts. At Leghorn Napoleon was well served by Bartolucci, who was a match for Mariotti, and he employed Colonna d'Istria, his mother's chamberlain, as a wandering spy in roving missions through Lombardy and Tuscany. The *Inconstant* and his other vessels took packets of correspondence; and the Rio boats on their periodic journeys with ore were made use of to deliver and receive messages. At Piombino two couriers were in attendance to receive Napoleon's letter-bag and carry it to Leghorn, where Bartolucci opened it and sent the letters on. The groom Vincent took a secret packet to Florence, the valet Cipriani was sent to Genoa, the gardener Hollard to Leghorn, and several emissaries were sent to Vienna. Communication with Naples was kept up by means of Madame Mère's maid, or the Countess Walewska, or the Milanese Litta, and no doubt by other persons whose names have not been recorded. In the Post Office at Portoferraio there were intrigues and counter-intrigues, some of the officials being suspected of

[1] Correspondance, No. 21629.

taking money from both sides. Napoleon had all letters of any interest copied for his perusal before delivery to the recipient. He managed in these various ways to keep himself fairly well supplied with news of what was going on at Vienna and elsewhere. He contrived, for instance, to obtain a regular supply of French newspapers; and Lord Holland sent him English newspapers from time to time.

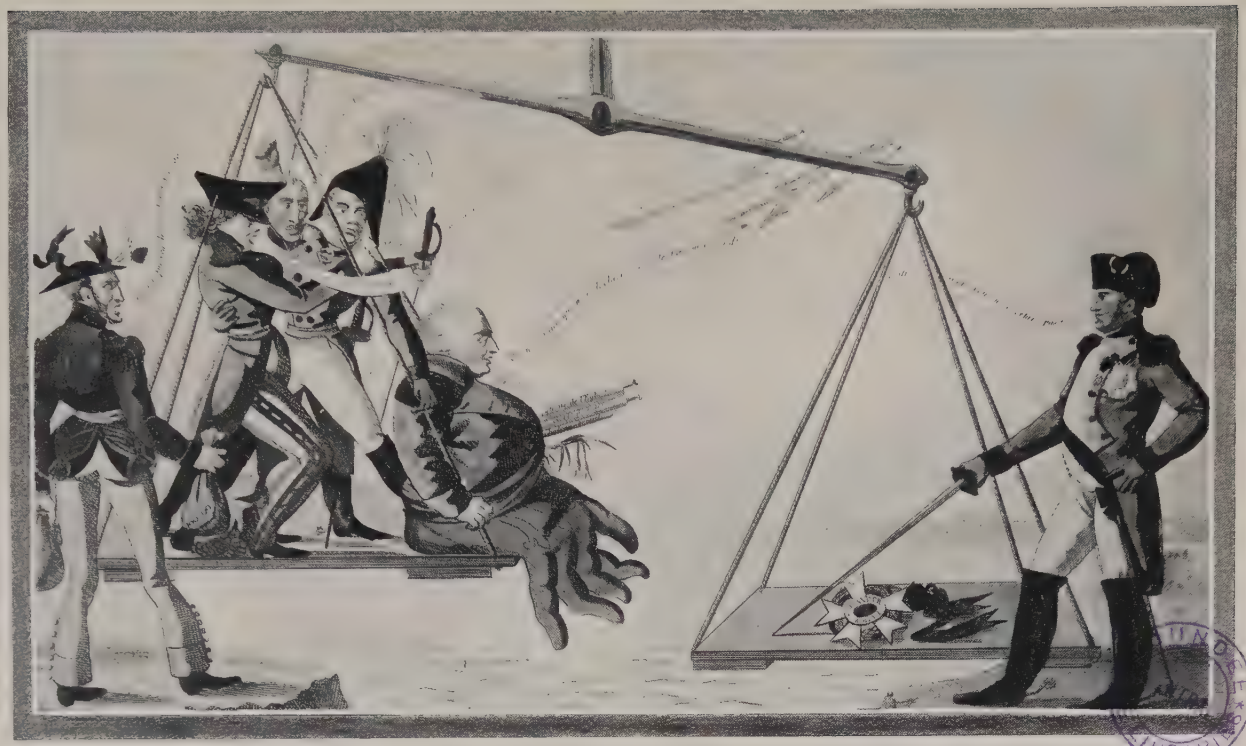
On the 30th October Pauline arrived from Naples in the *Inconstant*, which Napoleon had sent to fetch her, escorted by a Neapolitan frigate; but Murat's ship had orders to go no further than the channel of Piombino, and to have no communication with Elba, for fear of the suspicions that might be aroused. Taillade, however, had taken a packet of correspondence from Napoleon to Murat, and Pauline was doubtless the medium of messages in return.

From this time a steady interchange of communications between Elba and Naples was reported by the spies, but no written matter could be got hold of, until early in 1815 a box from Cardinal Fesch was opened by the papal agents at Civita Vecchia, and found to contain letters for Napoleon from Fesch and Murat. There was nothing of a directly incriminating nature, but there was proof of friendly and secret relations, which could be interpreted as a conspiracy between Murat and Napoleon.[1]

This occurred just at the time when Austria was being relieved of her anxiety as to her relations with Russia and Prussia. At this critical moment, Murat, with his headstrong folly, himself applied the light to the powder. On the 8th February he wrote to Metternich asking for a formal declaration of his rights, and remarking that in case of war with France he would want to send eighty thousand men through the Austrian territories in North Italy. Metternich's reply was that such a movement would be regarded by Austria as an act of war.

Austria was now ready to support France and Spain,

[1] Espitalier, p. 463.



THE DESTINY OF FRANCE

A French caricature of 1814–15

but England was unwilling to use force. Castlereagh had proposed "an actual offer of terms to Murat," with adequate provision. Bathurst suggested Corfu as a residence, with £50,000 a year. As late as the 25th February, 1815, Liverpool wrote to Castlereagh of the "absolute impracticability of our engaging in any military operations for the purpose of driving Murat from the throne of Naples."[1]

But when documentary proof had been obtained of Murat's double treachery to Napoleon and to the Allies in 1813–14, Liverpool wrote to Wellington that if negotiations had been tried and Murat declined "a good provision," and the Powers were united in their determination to dethrone him, "we might blockade his ports by sea." At the same time Liverpool was of opinion, and in this he was supported by Wellington, that a French expedition across the sea would have serious difficulties to face, and, differing from Wellington, he thought the best policy was to leave Murat in possession.

So matters stood when Napoleon left Elba.

With regard to the future of Napoleon there was much discussion at Vienna, but no formal proposals were ever made. Talleyrand wrote to Louis XVIII on the 13th October: "Questions are often asked in my presence, and Lord Castlereagh has spoken to me explicitly on the point, whether the Treaty of the 11th April is being carried out. The silence of the budget on this matter has been noticed by the Emperor of Russia. M. De Metternich says that Austria must not be expected to carry out the stipulations with regard to the Mont de Milan,[2] if France does not carry out the clauses of the Treaty which lie at her charge. Altogether this business is constantly cropping up in different ways, and nearly always in a disagreeable manner. However painful it may be to stoop to matters of this kind, I cannot

[1] Wellington, "Supp. Desp.," Vol. IX, pp. 487, 497, 535, 575.

[2] This was the State bank founded by Napoleon at Milan, in which members of his family had credits which Austria had engaged to liquidate.

refrain from observing to Your Majesty that it is desirable that something should be done in the matter. A letter from M. de Jaucourt,[1] who should acquaint me with it by order of Your Majesty, would certainly have a good effect.

"There is evident here a general determination to remove Bonaparte from the island of Elba. Nobody has yet any fixed idea as to the place to which he could be sent. I have proposed one of the Azores. They are five hundred leagues distant from the nearest continent. Lord Castlereagh seems to think that the Portuguese might be brought to lend themselves to such an arrangement, but in any discussion the question of money would reappear."[2]

To this Louis XVIII replied, on the 21st October: "I will at once make M. de Jaucourt write the letter that you desire, but between ourselves, I would go beyond the stipulation of the 11th April if the excellent idea of the Azores were put into execution."

Louis XVIII did not send Talleyrand the desired declaration that the Treaty would be respected.

Talleyrand put the case too strongly when he said there was a general "determination" to remove Napoleon from Elba. It was now recognised, as it ought to have been from the first, that at Elba the great man was too near to Italy and Europe; but there was a considerable difference of opinion as to what should be done. Talleyrand was for using force or fraud; he would have gone to any extreme without scruple. Pozzo di Borgo, who had been an Ajaccio friend of Napoleon's in his youth, was now fired by the unquenchable spirit of Corsican vendetta, which sanctions any crime; but his influence with the Czar was not sufficient to make that monarch break his word. Nor were either Prussia or Austria eager to repudiate their engagements, at least until Napoleon had given them some excuse, by overt action inconsistent with the Fontainebleau arrangement.

[1] The Marquis de Jaucourt was Minister for Foreign Affairs during the absence of Talleyrand. [2] Talleyrand, "Mémoires," Vol. II, p. 351.

The reference to Castlereagh in Talleyrand's letter has led some French writers[1] to assert that while Castlereagh was complaining that Louis XVIII did not fulfil his obligations, he himself was prepared to break his engagement with regard to Elba. There is no comparison between the French undertakings, which were of a solemn and important nature, entered into for value received from Napoleon, and the postponed and protesting acceptance by England, expressly confined to the Elba stipulation. Nor is there any reason to suppose that Castlereagh was prepared to assist in a forcible deportation of Napoleon. He contemplated a voluntary arrangement by money compensation to Portugal for the surrender of an island in the Azores, and by ample financial provision for Napoleon. The reluctance of the British Government to join in hostilities against Murat, a proved traitor to England, should have sufficed to exculpate us from the charge of preparing to use force against Napoleon. It was France, not England, that was repudiating her engagement.

Besides Talleyrand's "excellent idea of the Azores," St. Helena was mentioned as a suitable place for Napoleon's exile. No official suggestion was ever made, but it was recognised, in informal conversations, that the island in the South Atlantic would be a very safe prison. Some were base enough to speak of Santa Lucia or Trinidad, on the express ground of the reputed unhealthiness of those West Indian islands.

When Napoleon learned of the projects that were talked about he pretended at first to be unconcerned. To Campbell he said, on the 31st October: "I am a dead man. I was born a soldier. I mounted the throne and stepped down. I am ready for anything. They can deport me. They can have me assassinated. I should stretch out my breast to receive the dagger. As General Bonaparte I had some possessions which I had gained, but they have taken all." But on another

[1] See Houssaye, "1815, la première restauration," p. 169.

occasion, when walking with Bertrand and Drouot, Campbell also being present, he said: "I am a soldier. If they wish to assassinate me, I will open my breast, but I object to being deported." Later, on the 14th January, 1815, Campbell reports that in an interview Napoleon "spoke of the statements which had appeared in some of the newspapers respecting his removal to St. Helena or St. Lucia, in a way which showed his belief in them, said he would not consent to being transported from Elba, but would resist the attempt by force to the last. 'Before that, they will have to make a breach in my fortifications. We shall see.' I told him I did not believe these stories, which had no foundation beyond vague report."[1]

He made preparations for defence, placing some of the Guards in two detached forts which protected Portoferraio on the land side, and making the town forts ready to receive the enemy. He gave orders that if more than three warships appeared together they were to be fired upon.

These measures were not without their effect. It became evident that Napoleon would be able to meet force by force, and that a considerable armed expedition would have to be sent against him, which none of them, not even France, had any desire to undertake. That reflection, coupled with the opposition of the Czar to all repudiation of the Treaty, resulted in the question being shelved. France and Spain were concerting measures for an expedition against Murat, and Talleyrand hoped that Napoleon might be drawn into that affair.

In the meantime, Talleyrand was still being pestered about the unpaid money. He reported to Louis XVIII, on the 15th February, 1815, a long conversation which had taken place between the Czar and himself. "The Czar: 'Why do you not carry out the Treaty of the 11th April?' Talleyrand: 'Absent from Paris for the last five months, I do not know what has been done with regard to it.' The

[1] Campbell, pp. 317, 352.

Czar: 'The Treaty is not being carried out, we are bound to demand its execution; it is for us an affair of honour; we cannot depart from its stipulations in any way. The Emperor of Austria holds as firmly to it as I do, and you may rely upon it that it hurts him to know that it is not being carried out.' Talleyrand: 'Sire, I will report what you have done me the honour to say to me; but I must remark that in the state of unrest which prevails in the districts which are near to France and especially in Italy, there may be danger in furnishing the means of intrigue to the persons who must be supposed to have tendencies in that direction.' . . . Lord Castlereagh has also spoken with warmth to me about the Treaty of the 11th April, and I have no doubt he will speak to Your Majesty about it.[1] This question has been lively now for some time, and is now in everybody's mouth. I must tell Your Majesty that it reappears frequently and in an unpleasant manner; its influence is felt in the question of the Mont de Milan, which concerns so many of the subjects and servants of Your Majesty."[2]

Talleyrand suggested to Louis XVIII that it might be possible in return for certain concessions by France, to induce England to make the payments to Napoleon and his family. English gold would apparently not have had the effect of French gold in "furnishing the means of intrigue." Talleyrand made no reference in his letter to the removal of Napoleon from Elba. That project was abandoned, at least until Murat had been dealt with.

At St. Helena Napoleon said at one time that the fear of being deported conduced to his decision to leave Elba, and at another time that it had not influenced him. When he left Elba he may have known that he was not to be attacked by the armed force of any of the Powers until Murat had

[1] Lord Castlereagh had just left Vienna, where his place was taken by the Duke of Wellington, in order to be present at the opening of Parliament; he expected to be received by Louis XVIII in Paris on the way.

[2] Pallain, "Correspondence of Talleyrand with Louis XVIII," Vol. I, p. 285.

been deposed, and probably not even then without preliminary negotiation. But, whatever may have been his information on that point, he undoubtedly did entertain a lively fear of personal violence by abduction or by assassination.

Mariotti wrote to Talleyrand, on the 28th September: "Napoleon goes often to Pianosa. I have been assured that there being no suitable house on the island, he sleeps on board the ship. It would be easy for Taillade to seize him and take him to the island of Sainte Marguerite."[1] Taillade was at that time believed to be disloyal to Napoleon. Dupont, Minister of War, wrote to Talleyrand that Napoleon took such precautions, and was so much on his guard that it would be very difficult to seize him on the island of Elba.[2] At sea the chances were better. When a Franco-Spanish fleet was in the neighbourhood on the Murat business, there would be a strong temptation to try to obtain possession of the person of Napoleon.

There were also projects of assassination. Joseph sent to his brother the details of a plot that had come to his ears. A French officer at Toulon wrote to the Comte d'Artois that he was in a position to have Napoleon murdered by some of his Elba gendarmes.[3] Fossombroni, the Minister of the Grand Duke Ferdinand at Florence, told Pons that there were schemes against Napoleon's life. Brulart, who had openly threatened to kill the Emperor when at the height of his power, was now sent as Governor to Corsica.

Napoleon was convinced that Brulart intended to have him murdered. He told Campbell that he "was prepared for every act of personal hostility and oppression, even to the taking of his life. Was it not evident that there was some such intention against him in the choice made of the Governor of Corsica—Brulart—a man who was employed for many

[1] Houssaye, "1815, la première restauration," p. 173.
[2] Fournier, A., "Die Geheim polizei auf dem Wiener Congress," pp. 219, 226.
[3] Houssaye, "1815," p. 174.

years by the Bourbons while in England in plots and conspiracies with Georges and others ? Brulart had even changed his residence from Ajaccio to Bastia, so as to be at the point nearest Elba. Since then he had never gone out to take exercise except with four armed soldiers to accompany him. Brulart would not have been selected with any other view, for he had no connection whatever with Corsica." On the 15th January, 1815, Napoleon again spoke to Campbell about Brulart ; he asserted that an assassin sent by him had just been apprehended. " Napoleon appeared much agitated and impressed with a belief in the truth of what was stated."[1] The reference was to a Corsican named Ubaldi, who was on the staff of Brulart, and had arrived at Portoferraio. The affair is obscure,[2] but it may be questioned whether Brulart was scheming to have Napoleon murdered. At St. Helena Napoleon said that " the criminal projects of Brulart were a mystery to no one," and that he had been obliged to have an escort of twelve Lancers whenever he went out.[3] Napoleon was justified in taking every precaution. There is no reliable evidence of any actual attempt upon his life, but there was every reason to apprehend an attack at some time.

The danger was obvious, and was much in men's minds. Any stranger, who was not an English tourist, was liable to be suspected. A French magistrate who had been dismissed from his office by the Emperor arrived at Portoferraio, and was set down as an assassin. Rumour said that he intended to kill Napoleon at the theatre, the Emperor's presence having been announced for a certain evening, and a large part of the audience that night was armed and prepared to defend their Sovereign. The innocent Frenchman duly took his seat in his box, and was received with furious looks from all sides ; fortunately for him Napoleon after all did

[1] Campbell, pp. 328, 352.
[2] See Fournier, A., " Die Geheim polizei auf dem Wiener Congress p. 418.
[3] " L'ile d'Elbe et les Cent Jours," Correspondance, Vol. XXXI, p. 25.

not appear, or he might have been severely handled. He was one of the few who had no weapon concealed about him.

Another time it was a one-eyed Jew, a bookseller at Leipzig, who was supposed to have received a large sum of money to kill Napoleon with a dagger, while he was examining a parcel of books. Napoleon believed the story, and the whole island was organised to receive the Jew, while all one-eyed men were treated with great rudeness. Even the Mayor of Rio Montagne, one of the Emperor's chamberlains, was violently abused, merely because he had lost an eye. At length it was officially announced, by order of Napoleon, that the Jew had been frightened off by the preparations made for his reception. But Napoleon continued to apostrophise his supporters to be on their guard. He made an appeal to Cambronne to be ready at any moment to defend him, and that fiery, rough soldier was so much impressed with anxiety as to secret dangers, that he made Portoferraio a very unpleasant place for all strangers, except the English tourists, who are always so easily recognised.

The Guard marched every day into the Place d'Armes, and there carried out its drill. Visitors to Elba went at the appointed hour to watch the manœuvres of the most famous soldiers in the world, covered with medals and decorations given them by the greatest Commander ever known, and carrying, many of them, marks of the wounds they had received in the most wonderful campaigns. Amongst the crowd of Elbans and visitors who were admiring these heroes, there was one who, for no ascertainable reason, attracted the wild eye of Cambronne. He went up to the unlucky stranger and, without preliminary enquiry, at once began to abuse him roundly, and as the man was too astonished to think of any reply he was assailed with threats of violence. Then he declared he had been a War Commissary under Bertrand, and demanded to be taken to his former chief, who was able to substantiate the fact. Bertrand expressed regret at what had

THE INDIGESTIBLE PIE

From a French caricature of 1815

occurred, but the unlucky visitor thought it advisable to leave the island at the first opportunity.

Napoleon could forgive a mistake arising from excessive zeal and a too active suspicion. He was heard to say more than once, that "the greatest assassins in the world were those who wanted to murder a disarmed enemy." He was inspired by policy, as well as actual bodily fear, in the publicity he gave to this question. He told his followers to speak much and insistently upon it. "I intend to make complaints," he said, "to let the peoples know how their kings are treating me. I have been only too silent."

The attitude adopted at St. Helena was already assumed at Elba, where he was appealing to peoples against their kings, and accusing the latter of inhumanity towards him.

CHAPTER XIX

THE FATAL DECISION

NO man in modern times has acquired a reputation for transcendent unconquerability like that of Napoleon. The feeling was widespread that he had the miraculous ability to recover from any disaster, however portentous, and that many of the events which seemed to be defeats were prearranged for his own purpose by the immaculate hero himself, as steps towards a still greater triumph over his enemies. A grenadier, on hearing the report of his death at St. Helena, in 1821, expostulated: "Dead? He? It is evident that you do not know him."[1]

This inextinguishable prestige of Napoleon was the great dominating force by which Europe had been cowed ever since the battle of Marengo. It remained, throughout the Elba residence, the standing menace which could not be ignored; it governed every incident of the six years at St. Helena; it brought about the apotheosis of 1840; it created the Second Empire.

That the conqueror of Europe had selected Elba as a temporary residence, that he would leave it when he chose, and on his own conditions, was a common belief, and especially among the Elbans themselves. Already, in June, there were confident rumours on the island that arrangements were being made for an early departure, and that belief persisted, and grew in force as time went on.[2]

[1] Bacheville, p. 31.
[2] "Island Empire," pp. 194, 202.

In July Campbell reported that " Napoleon's schemes begin to connect themselves openly with the neighbouring continent " . . . " all possible means are taken to disseminate the idea of Bonaparte's future return to influence and power, so that the impression becomes only too general." This was only two months after the Emperor's arrival. In France, as early as August, there was a report that Napoleon had actually left the island. " We guard the cage," a soldier of the Guard was said to have written, " but the bird is no longer in it." As Anglès, Minister of Police, observed in his report to Louis XVIII, these rumours revealed a dangerous condition of public feeling.[1]

Mariotti reported on 28th September, and again on 25th November, that preparations for Napoleon's departure were being made at Portoferraio. A woman, Madame de Berluc, who arrived in Paris from Elba on the 3rd December, informed the Minister of Police that Napoleon " hides a design to return soon to France, with his army " ; the officers of the Emperor's suite told her that she would not be long in France before them ; there was an alternative plan, to go to Liguria.[2]

To make enquiries as to these reports Hyde de Neuville was sent from Paris to Leghorn and Florence ; and Mariotti despatched a secret agent to Portoferraio.

This emissary, whose identity is still obscure, was a young Tuscan who had served in the Imperial army. He left Leghorn on the 29th November, travelling with a Milanese named Litta, who had been in the service of Eugène, and who expressed the greatest devotion to the Emperor. Arrived at Portoferraio on the 30th November, the agent had to show his passport and to state his business, which he said was to sell oil ; he was then taken with the other arrivals to undergo the scrutiny of Cambronne. Although by this time the regulations were strict, most new-comers being sent back at

[1] Campbell, pp. 266, 268. " Royauté ou Empire," p. 106.
[2] " Royauté ou Empire," p. 169.

once and few allowed to remain more than the prescribed limit of three days, the spy was permitted to land and to remain unmolested.

The oil-seller's reports are full of references to Napoleon's expected departure; it is the chief burden of his communications. Men drank at the restaurants "to the Emperor and his future disembarkation," and all said that "things would change." A female spy, the *bonne amie* of one of Pauline's suite, reported that the Princess had said one day at table that ere long they would all learn of the plan which had been concerted between Napoleon and Marie Louise, and that there would be a complete change soon. The Emperor wanted it to be supposed that Austria was on his side.

From this agent the oil-seller also learned, on the 1st December, that Napoleon had said one day to Drouot: "Well, General, what do you think? Would it be too early to leave the island during carnival?"[1] This is the first reference by Napoleon to his departure that has come down to us. There is other evidence that at this time he was meditating a move. Peyrusse says, under date 7th December, that Napoleon had received a visit from a mysterious stranger, who had brought him news of the intention of the Allies to have him deported to St. Helena; that from the date of that visit the manner of Napoleon changed, he became curt in speech, showed temper, and shortened the evening parties; and orders were given that the brig should be prepared for a voyage.[2]

Pons also records that from the time that he heard of the St. Helena suggestion, Napoleon's demeanour underwent a change, that it was apparent he no longer considered himself bound by the Treaty of Fontainebleau. Pons had been a sailor. The Emperor sent him a confidential letter directing him to make a report on the means to be employed for the preparation of an "expeditionary flotilla." Pons understood

[1] Pellet, pp. 118, 120 *et seq.*
[2] Peyrusse, pp. 262–3.

what was meant, and in his report spoke of a disembarkation upon a friendly shore.[1]

Nothing further was done at the time, but it is evident that the St. Helena reports turned Napoleon's mind to the preparations of defence which have already been mentioned, and also to the more characteristic Napoleonic method, of a sudden and unexpected attack upon the enemy. At the beginning of December, 1814, Napoleon had resolved to take the first opportunity for a return to France.

Early in December Litta managed to obtain a private interview with Napoleon, in the course of which he assured the Emperor of the loyalty of Italy towards him, and declared that it was hoped he would appear there once more " to make them a united nation." Coming from Milan, the headquarters of Italian discontent, and the scene of Napoleon's coronation, Litta, gave very encouraging reports as to the state of public feeling. But when Napoleon asked whether the Italian troops had returned from Germany he was told that all had not yet come back—an important matter in the event of an attempt on Italy.

This conversation was communicated by Litta to the oil-seller, and by him to Mariotti, who reported it to Campbell when the latter was at Leghorn. The concluding words of the interview according to the oil-seller were : " Litta : ' Sire, I am going to Naples.' The Emperor : ' Well, before departing I shall have the pleasure of seeing you again ' (*Avant de partir j'aurai le plaisir de vous revoir*). The oil-seller added that Napoleon laid stress upon the words *avant de partir*, and he evidently thought the Emperor was referring to his own departure. The oil-seller was an Italian, whose French was very imperfect.

Campbell's version is : " Litta : ' I intend to go to Naples.' Napoleon : ' Naples ? ' (He looked at M. Litta, and fell into a thoughtful mood.) ' I will see you again before your

[1] Pons, " Souvenirs," pp. 372, 374, 377. " Mémoire aux Puissances," p. 108.

departure ' " (*Je vous verrai encore avant votre départ*).[1] This has a more probable appearance. Napoleon, after a moment of hesitation, concluded that he might entrust Litta with a message for Murat, and gave him to understand by the emphasis of his tone that he counted upon seeing him again before the latter's departure for Naples.

The oil-seller says Litta left Portoferraio soon after the middle of December, having previously been summoned by Napoleon to a private interview, in which he was given a special mission, and was charged to send news from Naples.[2] This confirms Campbell and shows that Napoleon was using Litta as a means of communication with Murat. The tendency to twist Napoleon's words from their proper meaning and make him speak of an impending departure, is significant of the feeling prevalent at the time.

Every week or two there was a confident rumour in the island that the Congress of Vienna was dissolved, that war was about to break out, and that the great soldier would be sent for. Napoleon one day said : " I see that we shall have to fight again." News had been received that General Koller was coming from Vienna " with the good news of a change of the throne." Campbell says that Napoleon was much interested in this, he " seemed to view the report with feelings of hope and eager curiosity." The oil-seller reported that Marie Louise had become *enceinte* as the result of her supposed visit to Elba, and that the inhabitants were excited with the thought that " when Napoleon is on the throne he will not forget this island." Napoleon had said, on the 2nd January, 1815 : " We will pass these days of winter as well as we can, and we shall hope to pass the spring as agreeably as possible." These ambiguous words had caused a painful impression as the troops thought they meant that the departure was postponed. Massena was about to " attempt a coup in favour of Napoleon." " The opinion is unanimous,"

[1] Campbell, p. 346.
[2] Pellet, p. 133.

writes the oil-seller on the 6th January, "that the revolution will take place in the month of March."[1]

Anglès reported in January to Louis XVIII that at Portoferraio a change was confidently expected. On the 3rd February he wrote: "Grain and flour have been collected in quantity; they came on English ships." On the 22nd February a Genoese captain of a ship from Elba had said that if a soldier asked for leave to go to France Napoleon would say: "A little patience, my friend, we will go together."

There was also a very general belief that England was at work in secret for the return to power of Napoleon. The Elbans had seen Napoleon arrive in an English ship; they heard the Emperor extol the English character and the English nation; they knew that the British Commissioner was the sole representative of a foreign nation on the island, and that Napoleon received him frequently; they had to find accommodation for the English tourists who came in numbers unusual in those days, merely to gaze with awe and rapture at the great man.[2] So far had this hero-worship gone that Admiral Hallowell remarked to Campbell at Leghorn that he "disapproved most strongly of several instances of voluntary court and unnecessary visits paid by naval officers at Portoferraio," and that he issued orders to stop these pilgrimages of the ships of His Majesty King George.

It was believed that many of the English visitors had missions. A certain R. W. Murray went to Elba, where he was received by Napoleon, and being supposed to be a natural son of an English Prince, his visit was regarded as evidence of an understanding between Napoleon and the Royal Family.[3]

[1] Pellet, pp. 134, 135, 137, 144. Houssaye, "1815," p. 147, makes the surprising statement that "at Elba nobody seemed to think of Napoleon's departure." It was the chief topic of conversation on the island.

[2] There were only sixty-one altogether during Napoleon's residence, according to the official list. Pellet, p. 165.

[3] Murray, on his return to England, was, at the instance of Lord Castlereagh, sentenced to transportation to Van Diemen's Land, on a charge of bigamy. The real offence was believed to be high treason; but the affair is still a mystery.

Adjutant Pierre Labadie entered in his diary such items as the following: "12th September: An English Countess has arrived, people say with despatches for Bertrand. 20th September: Four gentlemen have arrived in a canoe, disguised as sailors. 21st September: There is a rumour that Napoleon has received despatches from the English" (the disguised gentlemen). "20th November: Napoleon has received another packet from the English."

The oil-seller writes in the same strain: "The English corvette has brought a considerable sum of money for His Majesty, and Colonel Campbell, before leaving, has had several interviews with Napoleon. . . . I have been assured that two Englishmen arrived and at once demanded to see the Emperor, who had just gone to San Martino. The English followed him and delivered two packets. His Majesty returned at once to the Mulini Palace; next day he received the strangers, who re-embarked immediately afterwards."

When Napoleon was about to embark for France the oil seller was told at the office of the French staff that they had positive knowledge that the Emperor's departure was undertaken in agreement with England, owing to the refusal of Louis XVIII to agree to the English demands.[1] Colonel Vincent wrote in his diary that Napoleon had said that "if ever he left Elba, it would be for England"—a remark which one can well believe was actually made, and meant.[2]

Finally, when Campbell absented himself just at the time of Napoleon's departure, it was concluded throughout Europe—the fantastic idea still finds support on the Continent—that he did so in collusion with the Emperor.[3]

In spite of the reports that reached Paris, the French Government declined to believe either that Napoleon would leave Elba, or that if he did so he would venture to reappear

[1] Pellet, pp. 153, 157, 161.

[2] "Mémoires de tous," Vol. III, p. 198.

[3] "The most chimerical idea that could possibly haunt a troubled imagination. This ridiculous opinion has still its defenders. In truth it would be more absurd to believe that Louis XVIII also favoured the escape of Napoleon." (Houssaye, "1815," p. 200.)

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SIR NEIL CAMPBELL

From a portrait in possession of General Sir H. Grant, K.C.B., G.C.V.O.

on French territory. Even when news arrived of the actual landing on the French coast the Minister of Police mentioned it with indifference as an absurd story.

The British Commissioner was not so confident. He met Hyde de Neuville in Florence, and told him that Napoleon could at any moment escape, and that he suspected an "amicable understanding" between the Emperor and a Tunisian corsair which had visited Elba, had gone thence to Toulon, and was now again anchored at Porto Longone. "I even supposed it possible that a conspiracy might be formed in Napoleon's favour at Toulon; he could be conveyed in that ship, and that the first intelligence might be his being in possession of that important place and fleet. M. Hyde de Neuville took memoranda in writing in my presence of this information, and departed the following day in post haste to Paris."[1]

In common with most observers, Campbell thought that if Napoleon left Elba he would make for Italy. In February he was writing that he "thought it possible that Napoleon was preparing to desert to Murat"; that Mariotti agreed with him; that they were "always looking with anxiety towards Naples on account of its vicinity. . . . I think it almost certain that Napoleon is prepared to join Murat."[2]

The English brig *Partridge*, Captain Adye, which was on the Elba station, was ordered to keep a sharp look-out for any movement to the Italian coast; she made frequent cruises from Leghorn to Portoferraio and on to Civita Vecchia, and back again. Campbell relied much upon the *Partridge*, and did his best to make her surveillance effective. He protested with effect against the order that she was never to remain longer than twenty-four hours at Elba, "for fear of causing jealousy to other Powers"; and he also managed to prevent the *Partridge* from being sent off the station in order to escort Prince Leopold of Sicily from Leghorn to Palermo.

[1] Campbell, p. 323. [2] Campbell, p. 363.

Campbell was suspicious about the rock of Palmajola in the Piombino channel, on which there were two guns and a howitzer, and some soldiers sent by Napoleon; and he regarded with anxiety Napoleon's fortification of Pianosa, and the rumoured intention of seizing Monte Cristo. Murat's squadron, consisting of two ships of the line and several smaller vessels, cruised northward as far as Elban waters, ostensibly in order to protect Neapolitan trade from the corsairs; and it would have been easy for Napoleon to make for Pianosa or Monte Cristo on a pretended tour of inspection, and thence to board one of the Neapolitan ships.

Napoleon was anxious about the French frigates *Fleur-de-Lys* and *Melpomène*, because they were placed between him and France, and he would have to pass over their cruising ground. He wrote a long order to Drouot[1] with reference to the watch that was to be kept all along the north coast for these vessels, and sent the *Abeille* to Cape S. Andrea on the north-west, to cruise from that point and observe the French ships. Much of his anxiety was due to fear that the frigates had been sent to concert with Brulart plans of abduction or assassination. From this time very few strangers were admitted into Elba, and the police had instructions to send at once to Napoleon full particulars concerning the arrival of every ship and every passenger on any part of the coast.

These fears made any move without the Guard out of the question. Napoleon required the personal consideration and display which his Guard in attendance would still provide. He openly promised his soldiers that they should all travel together. He would never have committed the folly of Murat in 1815 or of Louis Napoleon in 1840; he saw too clearly the danger of a single-handed dash, without any show of force. The magic of his person would not have availed him, alone and unsupported. At St. Helena he expressed his contempt for such foolhardy undertakings. Life, respect, and honour could not be ensured without a substantial escort.

[1] Correspondance, No. 21663.

As for the voyage to France, Napoleon had crossed many times in his youth from Corsica, a journey of the same length and nature as that from Elba. He had also, in time of war, evaded Nelson and the British Navy, who were on the look-out for him, sailing safely from Toulon to Egypt, from Egypt to Corsica, and from Corsica to France. These experiences gave him the confident expectation of a fortunate passage.

Provided the embarkation of stores and men was not reported—and this danger would have been the same whether Italy or France was the objective—the voyage to France, though risky, was not a desperate adventure. Napoleon had escaped greater dangers in his career.

As already observed, Napoleon was under no legal obligation to remain at Elba. He knew, however, that his departure from the island would be treated as an assault upon the peace of Europe. But he was so unhappy at Elba, and his prospects in France were so bright, that he resolved to brave the hostility of the Powers.

His discontents were many and serious. Anxiety about money, as we have seen, was not one of the chief. He had enough to last several years, though he kept that fact secret, and made a great clamour about his poverty; precisely as he did afterwards at St. Helena. It may be questioned, indeed, whether he was anxious to become a pensioner of Louis XVIII. He was not proud of the Treaty of Fontainebleau, and of the money stipulations least of any. The non-payment of the promised pension was an indication of the feeling of Louis XVIII, shared apparently by the Allies, towards the Treaty.

On the 18th December, 1814, the Ministers of the King presented a report in which it was proposed to confiscate all the property in France of the Bonaparte family, and Louis wrote at the foot: "Approuvé. Louis."[1] This was a premeditated act of belligerency against Napoleon, carried out

[1] Masson, "Napoleon et sa famille," Vol. X, p. 415.

by Louis XVIII and his Government. It was not a mere "postponement" of the obligations of the Treaty of Fontainebleau, but a deliberate repudiation of that agreement, an attack upon Napoleon, and an act of war. He was both legally and morally free to accept the challenge and to make war on France in return.

As already observed, it seems probable that Napoleon learned that the projects of deportation had been set aside for the time. The fear of assassination, however, continued, and not without justification. The danger was very real, and it was one of the chief causes of the escape from Elba.

The separation from wife and child counted for much. It was another example of the bad faith with which he was treated. With the Empress and the King of Rome at his side, enjoying the titles which had been solemnly guaranteed to them but were shamelessly withheld, the Emperor would have obtained the consideration which had been promised, and which meant so much to him. It is possible that their presence might have deterred him, at least for some time, from any desperate adventure.

He was most anxious to restore his damaged reputation. He wanted to show the world that he was still "the man of Austerlitz," especially in face of the rumours that he had fallen into a state of degeneration bordering upon imbecility.

He felt very keenly the imputations which were current, of a want of courage. It was said that he had deserted his army after defeat on several occasions. The inaction at Fontainebleau, the abdication, the haggling about Elba and the title, the Treaty—which he never liked to look back upon—were all ascribed to a craven anxiety as to his person. While still at Fontainebleau he had been stung into remonstrance at these charges of poltroonery—and he thereupon set out on the journey through Provence, when he certainly did show the white feather. Reflecting upon all this at St. Helena, he said to Montholon: "In any case, my return from the island of Elba shows that I am not a nincompoop." On

another occasion he said : " The fact is, that what instigated me to return was the accusation of cowardice ; that in all the libels it was said that I feared death, that I had never run any personal risk ; at last I could stand it no longer."[1]

Here we have the secret. There was an appearance of justification in much that was being said. It was that element of truth that hurt him. Wife and child, ample funds, and complete security, would not have sufficed to quiet the pangs of injured vanity. He would rather die than sit tamely under these suspicions. The return from Elba was an expedition to restore his honour.

The visible restiveness of all his followers, from the highest to the lowest, the universal dislike of the monotonous Elban existence, was enough to drive any man to desperate action. Even the Guard was discontented, and desertions were frequent. It was terrible that even these adorers should want to leave him. On the 20th February Peyrusse found a volume of Racine on Napoleon's table, with a mark against the line where Mithridates exclaims : " *Ma funeste amitié pèse à tous mes amis*" (My baleful friendship weighs on all my friends).[2]

The pettiness of Elba, the sham royalty, the lack of respect which he sometimes encountered, were very trying to a man with his history and his proud nature. The repose and inaction of the Elban existence, which some might have found restful, were intolerable to Napoleon. His fall was so recent, the wound still so sore, that he must have been more miserable even than at St. Helena. He gave to Montholon as one of his reasons for leaving Elba, that " I was so unhappy, that I was not risking much, only my life." Bertrand, as we have seen, made to Gourgaud a remark in the same sense. Napoleon also said on one occasion that " Elba, where we were so unhappy, was a place of delight compared with St. Helena."

[1] Montholon, " Récits," Vol. II, pp. 170, 188. Gourgaud, " Journal," Vol. II, p. 302, gives almost the same words.

[2] Peyrusse, 269.

But even here, he could not abuse St. Helena without recalling the misery of Elba. The statement to Montholon, supported as it is by the testimony of Bertrand, is emphatic and convincing. Napoleon preferred death to a continuance of the Elban existence. At St. Helena, as Gourgaud says, his reputation was higher, he had the extraordinary triumph of the march to Paris, to console and gratify his self-esteem.[1]

Finally there was the Corsican spirit of vendetta, which ends only with death; and the dominating nature, made for action and for command, which had learned to regard the first place in Europe as a necessity and a right. Napoleon had been too long a Dictator to be able to put up with any lower position. It will always be a matter of astonishment that so few of his contemporaries understood his character, in spite of all that had happened, and required to be taught by the Elban escapade. The career of Napoleon, owing to the obstinate, invincible spirit of the man, could end only in complete triumph or utter defeat. He had to be either the foremost monarch in Europe or confined in a secure prison; there was no third alternative.

Matters came to a head soon after the stranding of the *Inconstant*, for upon that vessel depended Napoleon's power of reaching France. Towards the end of December the *Inconstant* went to Civita Vecchia. Ramolino, a relative of Napoleon, had been acting as one of his secret agents; a packet was delivered to him, and subsequently he came on board. On the 4th January the ship sailed for Elba, but was driven past the island by a violent storm, and after rounding Capo Corso had to take refuge in the bay of San Fiorenzo, on the north-west of Corsica. At San Fiorenzo she was boarded by Colonel Perrin, sent from Bastia by General Brulart, and by Albertini, the Commander of San Fiorenzo. Perrin and Taillade had a long conversation alone in the cabin, and Taillade in the evening dined with Perrin on shore,

[1] Gourgaud, "Journal," Vol. II, p. 303.

when they were again left alone together for a considerable time.

Next day the French frigate *Uranie* appeared, and took up a position close to the *Inconstant*. Her Commander paid a visit to Taillade, and was received with marks of distinction. He offered to confirm Taillade in the rank of Lieutenant if he would leave Napoleon and return to the service of France, an offer which was declined, we may suppose with some regret, for Taillade had never been a zealous follower of Napoleon. The necessary repairs took several days, and in the meantime Ramolino, who held an official position at Ajaccio which he did not wish to lose, was in hourly dread of being arrested and brought before Brulart to explain his secret communications with Napoleon.

The *Inconstant* began the voyage back to Elba with a fair wind, but when she had rounded Capo Corso and turned south she encountered another strong gale; the brig was driven with violence into the outer bay of Portoferraio, and finally, on the morning of the 12th January, went ashore at Bagnajo. Cannon were fired as signals of distress and the inhabitants of Portoferraio were soon upon the scene. One of the first to arrive was Napoleon, on horseback. He was much distressed at the sight, for it seemed that the waves beating against the vessel would soon destroy his most useful organ of communication and supply, and his only means of escape on the high seas. However, the storm abated; Ramolino was safely landed—he fell upon his knees on the shore to give thanks for his preservation—and it was found possible to lighten the ship by removing her stores and guns. Then she was towed into the harbour of Portoferraio, and in twenty days,[1] that is to say by the 1st February, the precious brig was once more in a position to put to sea.

Napoleon deprived Taillade of his command, and gave it to Chautard, a former pilot of the French Navy who called himself a Captain; he had arrived in the island about a

[1] Pons, p. 359.

month before to offer his services to Napoleon. Under Chautard, Napoleon placed Taillade as Lieutenant, in spite of the latter's poor abilities and very doubtful loyalty.[1] There may have been no choice. Sarri was too young.

As an example of the atmosphere of suspicion which attended Napoleon, and of the general belief in his habitual deceit, the comments of Peyrusse are illuminating.[2] He supposes that the stranding of the *Inconstant*, with its danger to life, and the grave risk of the vessel's complete destruction, was planned by Napoleon and carried out under his orders, in order that the large quantity of stores required for the voyage to France might be placed on board, as if to replace what had been taken out; the fact that an extra supply was being taken might thus pass unobserved. When a loyal and devoted supporter, a man fully up to the average in intelligence, writing some years afterwards, can seriously propound so extraordinary an idea, we must not be surprised that Napoleon's enemies, when employed to scrutinise his behaviour, should have sometimes been too suspicious. By friend as well as foe he was supposed to have a secret motive, carefully concealed, in all his acts; he would even contrive to make the wind and the sea do his work of deceiving the world.

On the 6th February Napoleon again spoke to Pons of leaving Elba. He referred to his prospects in Italy. He said to Pons: "What do you think of the attachment which the Piedmontese and Genoese have shown me?" and added: "If I were to appear in Italy there would be no civil war to fear, for Italy is all of the same party, and that party is for me."[3] It is not probable, however, that Napoleon had any real intention of trying his luck in Italy.

Pons observes, with pride: "Having studied much and

[1] "Some persons say that Napoleon suspects him of a secret understanding with the existing Government of France, and of a wish to destroy the brig." (Campbell, p. 359.)

[2] Peyrusse, p. 278.

[3] Pons, "Mémoire aux Puissances," p. 108.

THE GHOST

A contemporary French caricature of 1815

thought much on the point, not the smallest indication has been discovered that for the material preparations in connection with his return to France the Emperor addressed himself to any person except the Administrator of the Mines; an honourable distinction of which it may be permissible to boast for all time." This is corroborated by Napoleon's statement to Montholon at St. Helena: "Pons alone knows the truth; neither Bertrand nor Drouot were in the secret of my return; I confided only in Pons, because his co-operation was indispensable for the preparation of the vessels of transport which were necessary."[1]

Peyrusse writes: "In the first days of February, His Majesty asked me for 500,000 francs (£20,000), and I received on the same day the order to go and establish my cashbox in the fort *de l'Étoile*. I knew enough to have a presentiment of the motive for this displacement. I made, in the greatest secrecy, some provision in flour, wine, potatoes, and salt beef, and I awaited events."[2]

On the 11th February Colonna returned from a visit to Naples. Napoleon told Montholon at St. Helena that Colonna had been charged by Murat with the information that the Congress of Vienna was dissolved, and that the Czar had departed; this mistaken assertion had made him leave Elba too early, before the members of the Congress had dispersed.[3] The statement is corroborated by Gourgaud, who makes Napoleon say: "I left the island of Elba too soon. I believed the Congress to be dissolved."[4]

The arrival of Colonna, Napoleon said, coincided, unfortunately, with that of Fleury de Chaboulon. This young man came to Portoferraio with a message from Maret, duc de Bassano, Napoleon's zealous supporter. Fleury had been a sub-prefect, and had resigned his post at the Restoration, out of loyalty to Napoleon. He had arranged to make a

[1] Pons, p. 377. Montholon, "Récits," p. 195.
[2] Peyrusse, p. 268.
[3] Peyrusse, Appendix, p. 133. Montholon, "Récits," Vol. II, p. 262.
[4] Gourgaud, "Journal," Vol. II, p. 323.

journey to Elba as an act of homage to the Emperor, and Maret, hearing of this, took the opportunity to prime him with the report he should make of the condition of affairs in France.

Fleury, in his memoirs, does not give the date of his arrival at Portoferraio. The oil-seller refers to it. Having been away at Leghorn for some time, he was back at his post on the 16th February. On the 18th he writes: "18th February.—I paid a visit of ceremony upon Madame Colombani, and having asked for the news of the day, she told me that there arrived at Portoferraio from France a few days back" (*il y a quelques jours*) "a distinguished personage, disguised as a sailor, brought in a felucca from Lerici. He left after having had some secret conferences with the Emperor. This visit very visibly pleased Napoleon. The police wanted to identify this individual, but they were told not to meddle in the matter."[1]

From this report and the statement of Fleury in his memoirs that he arrived at 6 p.m., and left in forty-eight hours, it would appear that, taking the phrase *quelques jours* to indicate more than three days, Fleury must have arrived at least four days before the 18th, that is on or before the 14th, and must have left on or before the 16th. But if he had been still at Portoferraio on the 16th, after the return of the oil-seller, the spy would have heard of the presence of the mysterious stranger who had excited the attention of the police. He must therefore have gone before the 16th, on or before the 15th, and have arrived on or before the 13th, which would still be *quelques jours* before the 18th.

This conclusion is confirmed by Campbell, who, under date 15th February, writes: "A person calling himself Pietro St. Ernest has arrived here under the guise of a sailor from the bay of Spezzia. The Commandant de Place, the Commissary of Police, and other officials have been with him, and have ordered him not to be disturbed."[2] This clearly refers to

[1] Pellet, p. 153. [2] Campbell, p. 360.

Fleury de Chaboulon, the person referred to by the oil-seller. Lerici is in the gulf of Spezzia.

Fleury was told to inform Napoleon, from Maret, of the grave unrest in France, the unpopularity of the Bourbon Government, the fears of royalist reprisals, the plotting of Fouché, Thibeaudeau, Davout, and others, and the expectation of either a revolutionary outbreak or an Orleanist usurpation ; of the discontent in the army, and its continued loyalty to its great leader.

The violet was the Bonapartist symbol, and its coming in the spring was being talked about. Rings were made of a violet colour, with the words upon them : "*Elle reparaîtra au printemps.*" Ladies wore violet-coloured garments, men carried watch-chains of that colour. "*Aimez-vous la violette ?*" was a frequent question, to which the correct answer was : "*Eh, bien.*"

All this was, we may presume, already known to Napoleon. A neat phrase of the day ascribed his departure from Elba to "*un peu d'espoir et beaucoup de désespoir.*" But his hopes were not slight ; he had every reason to expect that he would be received with enthusiasm, provided only that he had not been forestalled by the Orleans faction. The message from Maret came just at the time when he had already made up his mind to the great adventure, feeling confident that the Bourbon Government could not last much longer. Maret would not take the responsibility of advising Napoleon to return at once to France ; all that Fleury was authorised to do was to lay the situation in France before the Emperor, who would decide upon his own course. Fleury had two long interviews with Napoleon, one on the morning after his arrival and one the day after, and he left (as has been shown) at latest in the evening of the 15th February, 1814.

Napoleon said to Montholon at St. Helena : "Fleury de Chaboulon brought me news at Elba of the conspiracy in favour of the Duc d'Orleans. Davout was particularly urgent for my immediate return. He was quite right, for

the coronation of the Duc d'Orleans would have been for many persons, and especially for the foreign Powers, a sort of compromise between the Revolution and the Restoration."

Napoleon told Fleury that he did not believe the Powers would again unite against him, and that if they did France, inspired by the spirit of 1794, would be able to beat them off.

On the 16th February, the day after Fleury's departure, Napoleon was relieved of the presence of Campbell, who left for Leghorn on the *Partridge*. As soon as the British ship was gone he issued orders to Drouot to prepare the *Inconstant* for a sea voyage.

The fatal decision was taken.

CHAPTER XX

BACK TO FRANCE

THE relations between Campbell and Napoleon had for some time been losing their early cordiality. In September Campbell concluded from some remarks made to him by Bertrand that it was hoped he would spend much of his time on the Continent. Towards the end of October he thought it advisable to tell Bertrand that he expected after the conclusion of the Congress of Vienna to be able to "exhibit the powers of a permanent and ostensible appointment."

In the meantime it was made evident that his presence was no longer desired. Napoleon did not abate his civility, but an interview with him was becoming less easy to obtain, and Bertrand and Drouot were not now always polite. Early in February, when reporting "a want of delicacy and politeness towards myself," Campbell writes, "Their chief motive, I expect, arose from a wish to disgust me, and induce me not to remain in the Island."[1]

Campbell told Bertrand that Napoleon had no right to the possession of Pianosa, or of Palmajola, and he asked permission to visit Palmajola. He complained that Ricci, formerly British Vice-Consul at Longone, was not accepted as Consul at Portoferraio, without a commission from the British Government. Campbell wanted to employ Ricci for the transmission of reports on the occasions of his absence from Elba, and for that purpose it was desirable that Ricci's

[1] Campbell, p. 357.

papers should be safe from seizure. Campbell also pointed out to Bertrand that Genoese and Neapolitan vessels came to Portoferraio carrying British colours, to obtain the security of the British flag, without authority.

In answer: "General Bertrand expressed his feelings in very strong terms; said that the Emperor and all of them were under great obligations for all the facilities afforded by me as the British Commissioner, and were very happy at my prolonging my stay; that they wished to show me every attention, that I must know all the reports about Palmajola were absurd. M. Ricci, he added, could not be considered as British Vice-Consul without holding a commission as such. There could be no treason or injury to the British Government in a few small vessels arriving there from Genoa or Naples, although they might perhaps carry the British flag. The Emperor lived quietly in his retreat, and therefore considered all this as meddling (*tracassant*). I told him this was a very strong expression; that to be sure, I was not accredited, and therefore had no right to interfere in these matters, holding no ostensible situation excepting that of Commissioner, prolonged there originally for their advantage and at their request. Now, however, it was my duty to notify to him, that neither Pianosa nor Palmajola had been given over to the possession of Napoleon, and that I should report to the British Government what had passed in regard to the points now under discussion. Our conversation was loud and warm."[1]

Campbell was not in the right. Pianosa and Palmajola were undoubtedly under the jurisdiction of Elba, and it was absurd to make complaints about them. Ricci could not be accepted as consul without a formal commission from the British Government. And there was very little harm in the carrying, by "small feluccas and other boats," of British colours.

Napoleon afterwards described Campbell in much the same

[1] Campbell, p. 361.

terms that he used of Sir Hudson Lowe. He said that of all nations England had the greatest number of men remarkable for their independence and the generosity of their character, but that it had also the most numerous set of vile, base, restless, and intriguing agents. Campbell had shown that he belonged to the latter class.[1]

It is interesting to observe that Napoleon described the British representative at Elba as a man of low character, who had been selected for that reason ; that he denounced his *tracasseries* in the hope of driving him away, and as part of his policy of complaint as to his treatment ; that he told Bertrand and Drouot to be rude to Campbell, with the same object ; that Campbell was suspicious and meddling ; and that after all he was not nearly suspicious enough, being deceived by Napoleon as to his departure, while at the same time he was placed in a position which led the world to believe that, under instructions from the British Government, he was the defender of Napoleon from his enemies, and an accomplice in his escape. These significant facts have an important bearing upon the history of the St. Helena captivity.

Campbell left Portoferraio on the 16th February in no friendly mood towards the Emperor and his followers, and carrying a despatch to Lord Castlereagh in which he expressed his anxiety as to Napoleon's intentions. He showed the despatch at Florence to Mr. Cooke, Under-Secretary of State, who had just come from Vienna. Cooke laughed at Campbell's uneasiness. He said : " When you return to Elba you may tell Bonaparte that everything is amicably settled at Vienna ; that he has no chance, that the Sovereigns will not quarrel. Nobody thinks of him at all. He is quite forgotten—as much as if he had never existed."[2]

[1] " L'île d'Elbè et les Cent Jours," Correspondance, Vol. XXXI, p. 28.

[2] Lord Burghersh said that, at his request, Mr. Cooke complained to Campbell of his frequent absence from Portoferraio (" The Correspondence of Lord Burghersh," p. 109). He may have done so and yet used the words attributed to him by Campbell.

Campbell was relieved to hear this, and he writes: "After Mr. Cooke's remarks I began to fancy that my near view of Napoleon and of the state of Elba had induced me to exaggerate circumstances." This observation also, with its reference to the effect of "a near view," on a small island, has an important lesson for the understanding of the St. Helena story.

Campbell's fears were soon justified by the reports that now began to reach him. He hurried back from Florence to Leghorn, which he reached on the 25th, and his anxiety being increased by what he heard there from Mariotti, he waited with impatience for the arrival of the *Partridge*.

On the 16th February, 1815, Napoleon wrote to Drouot that the brig was to be docked, recoppered, careened, and made in every way ready for sea. She was to be painted like an English brig. She was to be rearmed, and furnished with biscuit, rice, vegetables, cheese, brandy, wine, and water, for 120 men for three months. The salt meat was to last for fifteen days. There should be spars, and, in fact, absolutely nothing should be lacking. On the 24th or 25th February she was to be in the harbour quite ready. She was to carry as many boats as possible. Pons was to be told to hire by the month two vessels at Rio, above ninety tons; one was to go to Marina di Giove to fetch wood, the other to Porto Longone to bring away stores.[1]

These orders contained certain subterfuges. The brig was to be victualled for 120 men for three months, which seemed to indicate a long voyage, perhaps to America. The hired ships were apparently required for ordinary work, fetching wood for buildings, and continuing the dismantling of the fortifications of Porto Longone. To add to the deception, Napoleon continued to dictate orders on the affairs of the island. On the 17th he wrote to Drouot about the budget for 1815, remarking that he would increase the allowance for the Engineers—rather a suspicious statement, for

[1] Correspondance, 21674, 21675.

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CONTEMPORARY ENGLISH CARICATURE OF NAPOLEON'S RETURN FROM ELBA TO FRANCE
FEBRUARY–MARCH, 1815

he would have made no increases if he had been determined to remain on the island. On the 19th he wrote to Bertrand about the funds he intended to employ on certain roads; and in a second letter of the same date said it was his intention to go to Marciana towards the middle of June or the beginning of July. He continued to issue orders of a similar nature up to the 22nd February.[1]

On the 17th Napoleon sent Colonna to Naples to inform Murat of his intentions.[2] On the 18th or 19th he told Drouot of the impending move. That faithful servant was much perturbed, regretted the decision, and did his utmost to dissuade the Emperor from the adventure. Bertrand, when he heard it, approved.

On the 20th two berlines which had come from France with the Guard, and had been already dismounted and packed by Vincent the groom, with the coffee-coloured landau and several cases of silver, were carried on board the merchant ship *Saint Esprit*, of 200 tons. This vessel had arrived from Genoa, and was promptly commandeered—with proper financial compensation. On this day Ricci reported to Campbell that the two large feluccas usually employed by Pons in taking iron from Rio to the Continent, had put into Portoferraio in ballast only.

On the 21st the oil-seller wrote in his report that it was generally expected that Napoleon would leave in March, and that evident preparations were being made; the brig was being victualled, the guns laid out on the Linguella, the Corsicans were being given uniforms, and each soldier was given two pairs of boots.

On the 22nd the order was given for the horses to be brought from Pianosa. The oil-seller himself saw sixty cases of cartridges, with other munitions of war, placed on the *Inconstant*, and the *Étoile* received a number of guns and

[1] Correspondance, Nos. 21676, 21677, 21678. Registre, Nos. 180, 182, 183, 184.

[2] "L'île d'Elbe et les Cent Jours," Correspondance, Vol. XXXI, p. 34. Campbell, p. 365.

muskets. It was said they were for Naples. Peyrusse was ordered to pack all the Imperial cash in strong boxes for a voyage. Drouot told Vincent the groom to prepare his campaign saddle.

On the 23rd the *Inconstant*, *Étoile*, and *Saint Esprit* were visited by Napoleon; they were steadily being loaded with water and provisions. The oil-seller now learned that France was the real destination, and he determined to leave in a fishing-boat early the next morning with his news.

In the night of the 23rd to 24th an exciting event occurred. About midnight the *Partridge* anchored in the harbour. It was not known with what object Captain Adye had come, but the fact that the ship had been brought right into the harbour, under the guns of the forts, seemed to indicate that there were no suspicions on board, and that the timeliness of the visit was an accident. If Campbell was returning it would be necessary to place him under guard, but Napoleon was most unwilling to use force against the British ship or the British Commissioner; he did not want to make war upon England at the very outset of his enterprise. While awaiting what the morning would bring, he ordered the *Inconstant* to put to sea before daylight, that the condition of the brig should not be discovered—a prompt and wise decision; and he directed the soldiers of the Guard to be set to work early in gardening and transplanting trees. He had given them the piece of ground adjoining the Mulini Palace and had encouraged them to work there, partly to employ their time and prevent them grumbling, and partly to conceal his project of departure.

At 9 a.m. Captain Adye went on shore. He had an interview with Bertrand, who told him that Napoleon was in good health—though Madame Bertrand told him the Emperor had a bad cold. The Grand Marshal made particular enquiries as to his plans and the date of Campbell's return, and was told that the *Partridge* would sail at once to enable Adye to visit and examine the rock of Palmajola by daylight,

and would then return to Leghorn to fetch Campbell back to Elba on the 26th.

It is strange that Captain Adye should have learned nothing of the project in hand. He had no reason to expect any movement, and observed merely that the soldiers of the Guard were hard at work gardening. He learned nothing from Mariotti's spy, the oil-seller, because that reporter was convinced that Adye was acting in concert with Napoleon, under instructions from the British Government to assist the Emperor's plans. The oil-seller put off his own departure in order to observe the movements of the British ship, and when she had sailed and he wanted to follow, he found that an embargo had been laid on all shipping, including even fishing-boats, and that he could not leave the island.

The *Partridge* left Portoferraio at 2 p.m. on the 24th, but owing to light and variable airs she did not reach Palmajola before dark, and when Captain Adye was rowed up to the rock in the morning of the 25th he was refused a landing, as Bertrand had known would be the case. Adye then set sail for Leghorn, but there was little breeze and he made slow progress. On the way he passed near enough to Portoferraio to be able to see that the *Inconstant* had returned and was at anchor in the harbour at 6 p.m. of the 25th February.

The *Partridge* arrived in Leghorn roads at noon on the next day, Sunday, the 26th February. Adye saw Campbell on shore at 2 p.m. and endeavoured to dispel his anxiety by the information he brought of perfect quiet at Portoferraio, but Campbell was not to be reassured. There was no mistaking the meaning of the communications to Mariotti from the oil-seller, to Campbell himself from Ricci, and to General Spannocchi, the Governor of Leghorn, from other sources. At 8 p.m. Campbell and Adye were on board the *Partridge*. At the same hour the firing of a cannon at Portoferraio was announcing the arrival of the Emperor on board the *Inconstant*, and giving the signal for departure.

After the *Partridge* left on the 24th a strict embargo was enforced, no departure from the island being permitted.

On the 25th Napoleon held a reception of the chief dignitaries of the island and formally announced his approaching departure. The President of the Tribunal in reply said that his Elban subjects were torn with conflicting emotions, sorrow at the Emperor's leaving them, and joy at his return to the path of glory. A reference being made to Italy, Napoleon interrupted with the exclamation: "*France! France!*" which left no doubt as to his objective.

The *Partridge* was then still in the neighbourhood, and when Adye at 6 p.m. came near enough to see the *Inconstant* he did not escape observation himself. By the time he had sailed away it was too late to embark the soldiers and then sail, with any hope of being able to pass beyond Capraia and the French cruisers before daylight. Napoleon, who remained indoors all day, was occupied in preparing three proclamations, which were printed that evening to be ready for distribution in France. According to the reminiscences of Madame Mère, dictated to her companion Rosa Mellini years afterwards at Rome, Napoleon told her on this day of the hazard he was about to run. After dinner, at the Mulini Palace, he broke up the game of cards in which he was engaged and went into the garden outside. His mother followed. It was a fine moonlight night. She found him walking rapidly up and down by the parapet overlooking the sea. She asked what troubled him, and he replied that he intended to make an attempt on France, what was her opinion? She replied: "If death must be your fate, my son, Providence, which has not desired that it should occur in a period of an idleness which is unworthy of you, will not wish, I hope, that it should be by poison, but sword in hand."

The next day, Sunday, the 26th, at the customary reception, Napoleon announced that the departure would take place that evening. At 9 a.m. there was the usual Sunday

EMBARKATION OF NAPOLEON AT PORTOFERRAIO FOR FRANCE, 26 FEBRUARY, 1815

Mass. At 11 a.m. a small boat came in with the news that there were no signs at sea of the *Partridge* or of the French cruisers. The soldiers having dispersed as usual after their Sunday dinner, special orders had to be sent out to recall them; some of them were not found and were left behind.[1]

At five the embarkation commenced. At seven Napoleon embraced his mother and sister, and then drove down from the Mulini Palace in Pauline's small carriage with its low wheels and two ponies; they went at a walk in order to enable the followers to keep pace on foot. Bertrand, Drouot, Peyrusse, Fourreau-Beauregard, Rathery, Marchand, Pons, with the Palace domestics, all walked down the hill behind the carriage. At the quay Napoleon embarked on the *Caroline* to be taken to the *Inconstant*. The crowd which had assembled gave some faint-hearted cheers for the Emperor. With him went the abnormal prosperity Portoferraio had been enjoying, and many of his suite left their debts unpaid.

The flotilla consisted of seven vessels: the brig-of-war *Inconstant*, which normally carried eighteen guns and now had twenty-six; the merchant brig *Saint Esprit*, hired for the occasion; the bombard *Étoile*, six guns; the feluccas *Saint Joseph* and *Caroline;* and the other large feluccas sent from Rio.

On these vessels were embarked altogether about 1150 persons, composed as follows:—

Old Guard (grenadiers, chasseurs, sailors, gunners)	600
Polish Lancers (with their saddles, but not their horses)	100
Corsican Battalion	300
Gendarmes (mostly Italians and Corsicans)	50
Civilians (including servants)	100
	1150

[1] Letter of Demons, who was Lieutenant of the Guard at Elba, dated 19th September, 1866. ("Nuovi Documenti," p. 6.)

The whole of the Emperor's retinue went on board—all the palace officials and domestics, from the highest to the lowest.

The *Inconstant* carried the Emperor, his Staff, the superior court officials and chief domestics, and the grenadiers of the Guard. The chasseurs and gunners of the Guard, the Poles, four field-guns, Napoleon's carriage, the saddle and harness horses and the horses of the Polish Lancers, went on the *Saint Esprit.* The sailors of the Guard and the bulk of the civilians and domestics went on the *Caroline;* and the Corsicans and gendarmes were distributed among the other vessels. Each ship carried Napoleon's Elban flag, with the red stripe and the three golden bees.[1]

The night was fine and still. Napoleon ordered the oars to be used until his ships were clear of the land, and then, about midnight, a slight breeze was obtained from the south. The brilliant moon was unfortunate, but it enabled the lights to be kept burning, for the ships themselves being plainly visible, the absence of lights on board would have aroused suspicion.

While Napoleon was making steady though slow progress, the *Partridge* lay becalmed at Leghorn. Adye in his report afterwards wrote: "Had there been a breath of wind I should have instantly sailed," but he did not think of using oars and so getting the advantage of the light air at sea, which was helping Napoleon. He remained at anchor until 4 a.m., when "a light breeze sprang up from the eastward." If he had realised the urgency of the moment he would have made progress of some sort in one way or another; and in that case it is probable that he would have met the *Inconstant.* Campbell had decided upon his course of action in such an event. While the *Partridge* lay at anchor he wrote to Lord Burghersh in the following terms: "In case of Napoleon quitting Elba, and any of his vessels being discovered with troops on board, I shall request Captain Adye

[1] Correspondance, Vol. XXXI, p. 133.

to intercept, and, in case of their offering the slightest resistance, to destroy them. I am confident that both he and I will be justified by our sovereign, our country, and the world, in proceeding to any extremity upon our own responsibility in a case of so extraordinary a nature. I shall feel that in the execution of my duty, and with the military means which I can procure, the lives of this restless man and his misguided associates and followers are not to be put in competition with the fate of thousands and the tranquillity of the world."[1]

If the wind had blown from the north or north-east with some strength, as it often does at that time of the year, Napoleon would have been held fast at Portoferraio, or at least would have been unable to get out of the range of danger, while the *Partridge* would have reached Elban waters in a very short time. An encounter would have occurred, and the *Inconstant*, in her crowded condition and with her scratch crew, would have been no match for the British ship. Napoleon would have been killed or taken prisoner.

By 8 a.m. on the 27th the *Inconstant* was near to the island of Capraia, on its south-east. The *Partridge* was only four hours out from Leghorn, and making little progress. A French brig, the *Zéphyr*, Captain Andrieux, was approaching Capraia from the west, having taken a company of soldiers to Corsica, on her way from Toulon to Leghorn. The French frigate *Fleur-de-Lys* was near Capraia on the north-west, on her ordinary course to watch for vessels carrying recruits from Corsica to Elba. The French frigate *Melpomène* was cruising on the same mission south-west of Capraia. This vessel cannot have been far from the *Inconstant* and her six attendants.

Eight hours later, at 4 p.m., the *Inconstant* had rounded Capraia, and was to the north-west of that island. The *Fleur-de-Lys* was not far away. The *Partridge* was now

[1] Campbell, p. 368.

twelve hours out from Leghorn, and in spite of the feeble breeze had arrived near Capraia on the north-east. Both these vessels were seen by those on board the *Inconstant*, but neither of them reported having seen her. Perhaps she escaped observation owing to her disguise. The *Fleur-de-Lys* may be excused for ignoring the distant vessel, for she had no warning of any unusual proceedings, but Campbell and Adye should not have allowed a brig, English or not, to pass without examination. They had both been deceived by Napoleon. Campbell was sure that he had gone to Italy, and Adye was equally convinced that the *Inconstant* was still where he had last seen her, at anchor in the harbour of Portoferraio.

The *Zéphyr* meanwhile was sailing in a direction which would bring her across the track of the *Inconstant*, and presently the two ships came to close quarters. On board the *Inconstant* preparations for defence were made, but when Taillade recognised the *Zéphyr*, a vessel he knew well, commanded by Andrieux, a comrade and friend of his own, it was hoped that amicable relations might be established. The grenadiers were ordered to hide under the bridge, or elsewhere. Andrieux did not at first recognise the disguised ship; he stared at her for some time through his glass. Then he hailed and Taillade, after an interval of silence, in which he was receiving Napoleon's instructions, replied, giving the name of the ship: "The *Inconstant*. Where are you going?" "To Leghorn," came the answer; "and you?" Still prompted by Napoleon, Taillade replied: "To Genoa. Have you any commissions for me there?" "No, thank you. And how is the great man?" Napoleon told him to shout back: "He is wonderfully well." So they separated.

The instructions delivered to the commander of the *Zéphyr* at Toulon by the Maritime Prefect, from the Minister of Marine, had been that he was "to repair to Leghorn and establish in those waters a cruise of observation with regard to which he will conform to the indications and particular

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NAPOLEON'S ELBAN STANDARD

From an English engraving of August, 1823

instructions of General Mariotti, Consul of France in Tuscany."[1] He did not know that he was being sent for the express purpose of watching and following the *Inconstant*. He was to receive that news at Leghorn. In the meantime, he had no instructions as to his behaviour towards the *Inconstant*, and even if his suspicions had been aroused it would still have been his duty to proceed to Leghorn.

It was only after persistent appeals from Mariotti that the French Government had at last consented to send him the *Zéphyr*, and then she arrived too late. Mariotti wrote to Jaucourt: "The brig *Zéphyr* arrived only yesterday evening at Leghorn, and her captain came to me this morning to inform me he was at my disposal. He told me that he had encountered yesterday the brig *Inconstant* near Capraia. If the *Zéphyr* had arrived here forty-eight hours earlier I should have given instructions of such a nature that the brig *Inconstant* would not have escaped." To the duc Dalberg, one of the French plenipotentiaries at Vienna, he wrote: "If the *Zéphyr* had been here forty-eight hours sooner I should have given such instructions that the *Inconstant* would have either been captured or sent to the bottom with her cargo." Mariotti agreed with Campbell, that if Napoleon were found leading an armed expedition on the high seas, his progress should be stopped by force.

"In the course of the day," writes Campbell, on the 27th, "we saw the French brig *Zéphyr*." In all probability it was the *Inconstant* they saw. They knew from Mariotti that the *Zéphyr* was expected and so concluded that was the ship that came in view.

In the night of the 27th February the wind freshened, and by daylight of the 28th the *Inconstant* was out of the danger zone. The *Fleur-de-Lys* and *Melpomène* continued to cruise over the waters she had passed; the *Zéphyr* proceeded at a holiday pace towards Leghorn; the *Partridge* at last, on the morning of the 28th, reached Portoferraio.

[1] Firmin-Didot, "Royauté ou Empire," p. 264.

In a despatch sent off from Leghorn on the evening of the 26th February Campbell explained what he expected to find and how he should act. He thought he would discover that Napoleon had gone with his Guard to Gaeta or Civita Vecchia, or to meet Murat at Pianosa or Monte Cristo. He said that the *Partridge* would not anchor in the harbour of Portoferraio for fear of capture; that he himself would on landing demand an interview with Napoleon, and if he found that the Emperor was still on the island, and that he (Campbell) was not detained, he would return to the ship, which would remain outside the harbour to watch proceedings. He desired Lord Burghersh to request Captain Thomson, R.N., the senior officer at Genoa, to send one of his vessels—he had a ship of the line, a frigate, and a brig—to watch or pursue Napoleon.

In accordance with this arrangement the *Partridge* remained outside the harbour while Campbell went on in the ship's boat, it being agreed that if he did not return within two hours it should be assumed that he had been detained, and Captain Adye should take the *Partridge* to Piombino and send from thence a despatch to Lord Burghersh.

On landing Campbell noticed at once that the Guard had gone, and he was told of the departure of the expedition by an English visitor, Mr. Grattan, who had been detained by the embargo. From him Campbell learned that the ships had been seen a little north of Capraia as late as 2 p.m. of the 27th, and he concluded therefore, after much consideration and hesitation, that Napoleon's goal was to the north. Every act of Napoleon's was regarded as probably intended to deceive, and the movement to the north was construed by Adye—who was singularly unfortunate in all his estimates—as intended to conceal a voyage to the south, an interpretation which aroused misgivings in Campbell's mind. He attempted to get at the truth from Madame Bertrand. He told her that Napoleon had been overtaken in the Naples direction, and would infallibly be captured, but Madame

Bertrand stood the shock bravely and did not give away her secret.

Pauline made love to him. "She came out and made me sit down beside her, drawing her chair gradually still closer, as if she waited for me to make some *private* communication. She then protested her ignorance of Napoleon's intended departure till the very last moment, and of his present destination; laid hold of my hand and pressed it to her heart that I might feel how much she was agitated. However, she did not appear to be so, and there was rather a smile upon her countenance."

Campbell did not dally with the siren, but was back on the *Partridge* within the stipulated two hours. At 3 p.m. he sent off Mr. Grattan in a fishing-boat to Leghorn, with the news which was to call Europe once more to arms.

It was finally decided, after much discussion, that the *Partridge* should sail for Antibes. Campbell's reasons were that "there was always a probability of overtaking Napoleon if he had gone in that direction; there was none if he had gone to Naples. The horses and guns, which he was said certainly to have embarked, could be of no use at Naples, but only an encumbrance; although to be sure it might have been a mask to make me believe that he had gone there, and he might afterwards have thrown them overboard."

Napoleon's reputation for duplicity was such as to paralyse the intelligence of his contemporaries. Campbell, however, reflected that he would not have encumbered himself with so many Corsicans, who could not be thrown overboard when they had served their purpose of misleading people as to his intentions, and they would have been of no importance as an additional force at Naples. "I think," he concluded, "his destination is for the frontier of Piedmont, next France, and that he will take possession of some strong place near Nice, or between that and Turin, dispersing his civil followers immediately over North Italy, of which he

will proclaim the independence, raising the disaffected there, while Murat does the same in the south."[1]

On the 28th the *Partridge* sailed for the north. On the 1st March in the early morning, a vessel being seen, the British ship was at once turned towards her. Similar prompt action during the voyage from Leghorn on the 27th, when Campbell had every reason to believe that the *Inconstant* was at sea with Napoleon on board, might have led to the discovery of that vessel. On this occasion it so happened that the vessel proving to be the *Fleur-de-Lys*, the encounter caused a delay which put an end to the last chance of overtaking Napoleon. Captain Garat was much astonished to hear of the escape of Napoleon, and declared that the Imperial flotilla could not have passed him without being observed. He was therefore of opinion that Napoleon was hiding off Capraia, or Gorgona. He convinced Campbell, who still could not think of France, and now concluded that Napoleon would attack Leghorn as soon as he judged the *Partridge* to be out of the way. The French captain having passed some precious hours in discussion with Campbell, sailed for Antibes; if he did not find Napoleon he would at least be able to send off a message to Paris. When he reached Antibes Napoleon had gone, and his own news was stale. And Campbell in the *Partridge* was wasting two days in searching around Capraia.

The *Inconstant* in the meantime had been in sight of a French vessel of 74, which, however, paid no attention to the brig. In order not to arrive at the indicated rendezvous off Golfe Jouan before the slower vessels of the flotilla, the *Inconstant* was making a course towards Genoa, and on the morning of the 28th land was seen, off Noli, near Savona. On perceiving the coast, with the Alps in the background, Napoleon conferred the order of the Legion of Honour upon Chautard and Taillade, and he announced that he would give the decoration to all officers and men who had followed

[1] Campbell, pp. 376, 378.

him to Elba and had seen four years of service in the Guard; a red flag was cut into strips and the pieces given on the spot to these favoured men, but there were not many of them, for nearly all those who came under the description had already been decorated. Napoleon was in great good humour. "It is an Austerlitz day," he said. Peyrusse was lying on the deck, prostrate from sea-sickness. Napoleon said to him: "The Seine water will cure you, Mr. Treasurer; we shall be in Paris on the birthday of the King of Rome." (The 20th March was indeed the date.)

To Mallet Napoleon spoke as follows: "No historic example induces me to undertake this bold enterprise, but I have counted on the astonishment of the population, the condition of public feeling, the resentment against the Allies, the affection of my soldiers, in fine all the Napoleonic elements which are still in germ in our beautiful France. I count upon the stupefaction which such a great novelty will produce, and upon the irreflection and the sudden enthusiasm which so audacious and unexpected an enterprise will create. A thousand ideas and projects are formed; resistance is nowhere decided. I shall arrive before any plan has been organised against me." Then pointing to Drouot, who was standing apart in an attitude of dejection, he continued: "I know that if I had listened to the sage I should not have started, but there were even greater dangers at Portoferraio."[1]

The instinct for situation (like a jockey's perception of pace) was one of Napoleon's most valuable gifts. He saw with wonderful prescience the kind of reception he would be accorded—at first. He would be at the Tuileries on the 20th March, a remarkable prophecy. But Drouot, the sage, though over-anxious as to the immediate danger, proved right in the end.

In spite of the Emperor's confidence some murmurs of doubt were raised; upon hearing them he said: "A revolution has broken out at Paris, and a Provisional Government

[1] Peyrusse, pp. 277–8.

has been established. I can count upon the whole army. I have received addresses of welcome from many regiments." To this falsehood he added: "I shall arrive in Paris without firing a shot," which proved to be the case.

Napoleon then ordered the proclamations he had caused to be printed at Portoferraio to be read out to the soldiers, and as one of them purported to be addressed by them to their Emperor, the leaders and best writers were set to work to copy it in their own hands and to add their signatures. In the course of the day the other vessels succeeded in joining the *Inconstant*, and at dawn of the 1st March, 1815, the flotilla was off the cape of Antibes. Napoleon appeared on the bridge wearing the tricolour, and the soldiers thereupon abandoned the Elban for the French national colours, which were hoisted on the ships. At 1 p.m. the vessels were at anchor in the Golfe Jouan, and the disembarkation in boats commenced.

According to local tradition Napoleon stepped on to the soil of France close to a fine olive tree, which he considered a good omen. A commemorative column was erected in May, 1815, to mark the spot, and it still exists.

A singular good fortune had favoured Napoleon. He had been within sight of two French frigates whose duty it was to report his doings; he saw, and must have been seen by, an English brig which was charged with the knowledge of his intended departure, and which should not have allowed any doubtful sail to pass without examination; and he actually spoke a French brig which had been expressly sent to watch and follow his movements, though her commander had not then received his instructions.

With regard to the failure of the British Government to prevent the escape of Napoleon, Lord Castlereagh said in the House of Commons on the 7th April that the Allies had never intended to blockade the island of Elba; and that if they had, the best authorities considered that it would have been impossible even for the whole British Navy to draw a

line round the island that Napoleon would have had no chance of eluding. Before Napoleon had embarked on his great adventure the French Minister of Police had already reported to Louis XVIII to much the same effect, that no cruising could prevent a landing in Tuscany by night. In a literal sense perhaps this was true. Alone, or with only a companion or two, Napoleon might have got clear in spite of the closest watch, but, practically speaking, it would not have required many ships to prevent his making the attempt. The risk of capture would have been too great. Elba was, in June of the same year, most effectually blockaded by a small English squadron.

Napoleon might, no doubt, have escaped in a balloon; he might have floated away in a barrel; and he might have contrived to be thrown into the sea in a sack, pretending that he was a corpse. The famous Monte Cristo story should be taken as a Napoleonic allegory, evolved in the mind of Dumas by his visit to Elba, and his fervent admiration for the great Emperor. "I am a dead man," Napoleon kept saying, until all believed it; and it was as a corpse thrown into the sea, and emerging alive, that he succeeded in reaching the land, to startle the world.

CHAPTER XXI

ICONOGRAPHY AND OTHER SIDELIGHTS

Had prudence marked his reign—had Justice thrown
Her hallow'd symbols round about his Throne,
Had he on Freedom's side as bravely stood,
As when he fought for Tyranny in blood—
The world had wept at such a monarch's fall
And sorrow mark'd the features of us all.

Poem "The Exile of Elba."
Dedicated by John Gwilliam to Lord Byron.

WITHIN one week of the day upon which the Czar Alexander propounded to the negotiating French Marshals his plan for the creation of that Elban empire which he fondly hoped would prevent Napoleon from having any further active concern in European affairs, while, in a measure, preserving his own *amour propre*, the largest of the five small islands lying in the narrow channel between the cliffs of Corsica and the coast of Tuscany suddenly became an object of universal and predominant interest throughout Europe. Elba was not altogether unknown to British statesmen, for just twelve years previously the evacuation of Portoferraio, its capital, by the English garrison stationed there, had been stipulated for in Article XI of the delusive Treaty of Amiens. Some little time before the abdication of Napoleon Elba had been visited and explored by that celebrated antiquarian Sir Richard Colt Hoare, an account of whose tour, illustrated by eight engravings by J. Powell after drawings by John Smith, from sketches made on the spot by the traveller himself, was conjointly published by John

Murray, W. Clarke, and John Smith in the spring of 1814. This must have been done with business-like expedition, for in a brief explanatory preface John Smith writes : " I most gladly accept the offer so kindly made me by Sir Richard Colt Hoare, of the use of his manuscript journal through the Island of Elba, and of his portfolio of drawings ; and I hope that the work which I now submit to the public, will meet with their approbation. The extended and varied scenes of Napoleon's *triumphs* are in general well known, but those of his destined *retirement* have been hitherto unfrequented and imperfectly noticed. To illustrate the latter by views and descriptions, is the object of my present publication ; and I flatter myself that Sovereigns as well as individuals, will feel some trifling gratification in becoming better acquainted with an island that is allotted for the future residence of the exiled Emperor, Napoleon Bonaparte." To this account of Elba, published in quarto form, the publishers added a fairly good map.

The Hoare-Smith book, however, was not the only contribution to the topography of Elba which appeared in London in the early part of 1814. Napoleon was still on his road to the coast when Mr. John Fairburn, of 2 Broadway, Ludgate Hill, produced a large broadsheet, measuring 23½ inches by 18¾, the upper portion of which was occupied by two maps of Elba and two views of Portoferraio, the one from the sea and the other from within the Bay, which was evidently prepared in hot haste to meet the popular demand for information, as it is entitled :—

" The Island of Elba to which Napolean [*sic*] Buonaparte, the late Emperor of the French is banished, with two accurate views of Porto Ferrajo and a General Map."

A fairly full historical and geographical account of Elba concludes with a paragraph to the effect that

" Buonaparte left Fontainebleau, for the island of Elba, on the morning of April 21, 1814. At the moment of his

departure, he spoke to the officers and subalterns of the old guard, who were near him, embraced their general, making a farewell speech to them, at the conclusion of which he desired the eagle might be brought to him; he embraced it lightly, saying, 'Ah! dear eagle, may the kisses that I give you go down to posterity,' and added, 'Adieu, my children—adieu, my brave fellows,' then stepped into his carriage and departed under the escort provided to conduct him."

The various aquatints representing the entry of the Allies into Paris on 31st March, 1814, can scarcely be described as connected with the iconography of Elba, and the same thing may be said of the numerous engravings of various descriptions and origins in which the scenes which occurred at Fontainebleau three weeks later are portrayed. Within the next few months the English market was well supplied with views of Napoleon's "Island Empire." The large and beautiful aquatint described as a "General View of the Isle of Elba, Porto Ferrajo, the Town and Castle, now the retreat of N. Bonaparte," was engraved by M. Dubourg from a drawing made by A. S. Tereni, and it was published on 1st June, 1814, by Edward Orme, of Bond Street. Some two months earlier a second and somewhat smaller aquatint, by F. Jukes from a drawing by Captain James Weir, had been published by the engraver. It is inscribed: "To the Right Honourable Earl Spencer, this view of the west side of Porto Ferrajo Bay, with the position of the *Captain*, 74, *Flora*, *Inconstant* and *Southampton* Frigates is with great respect dedicated by his Lordship's obedient servant, James Weir." There is a third aquatint of Portoferraio with a map and portrait of Napoleon in Bowyer's "Illustrated Record," a handsome folio first published early in 1815. In this case the name neither of the artist nor aquatinter is given. It is needless to say that several views of supposed occurrences in Elba between May, 1814, and February, 1815, are purely imaginary, and cannot be taken seriously.

When we consider that the stay of Napoleon in Elba was limited, roughly speaking, to ten months, it is surprising to find how many portraits of him are ascribed to this period. One of the most interesting of these is the anonymous French engraving in the fine Napoleonic collection of Mr. Alfred Brewis, of Newcastle, which forms the frontispiece of this volume. When the late Sir Henry Drummond Wolff published his book "The Island Empire" in 1855, he reproduced in colour a half-length portrait of Napoleon from a picture taken during his residence at Elba, in the possession of Signor Foresi, of Portoferraio. It has been impossible to trace the present whereabouts of the original from which this lithograph was executed by Messrs. Hanhart. M. Godefroy Mayer, a recognised expert in Napoleonic iconography, classes as possible portraits of the Elba period two full-length figures, with different backgrounds, turned towards the left, with the head to the right, sketched and etched by J. Duplessis Bertaux, completed *au lavis* by Levachez, and published by Bance, 214 Rue Saints Pères. They bear inscriptions in English, French, and German antagonistic to the Emperor. These portraits, measuring 20 by $14\frac{5}{16}$ inches, were probably engraved early in 1814, and published in April or May of that year. There is a small portrait of Napoleon in colour, "from a sketch taken by an officer in the island of Elba," which it is curious to contrast with similar productions executed by Denzil Ibbetson, Basil Jackson, and Captains A. D. Dodgin and David Erskine, three or four years later at St. Helena. M. Godefroy Mayer indicates two other Napoleonic portraits of 1815, but they were published later, indeed the whole-length in colours on horseback, turned to the left, by Levachez after C. Vernet, and sold by Palmer, of London, is entitled *Napoleon en Retour de l'Ile d'Elbe.* The large folio portrait in uniform, engraved and published in London, "after the celebrated picture by Robert Lefèvre, which is exhibited in Adam Street, Adelphi," was painted during the Hundred Days, although the engraving was only completed after Waterloo. It gives,

however, an excellent idea of the appearance of Napoleon in 1814–15. The lettering, "Robert Lefèvre pinxit—Zecavel sculpsit," is a little puzzling, but the latter name is intended to veil the identity of Levachez.

It is probable that the large lithograph by Pinçon after H. Vernet, printed in Paris by Auguste Bry, 149 Rue du Bac, and published by Lemaitre, known as *Le Grenadier de l'Ile d'Elbe*, and bearing the words: "À tous les cœurs bien nés, que la Patrie est chère," was the outcome of the Napoleonic revival of the Hundred Days. It was at the same time that Villain produced the lithographic portrait after Cardel of General Baron Jesmanowski, the commander of the Polish detachment at Elba. The Poles who were so mercilessly ridiculed in May, 1814, became popular heroes in the same month of the following year.

In the Warren Crane sale, which took place at New York in November, 1913, an unsigned 4to mezzotint of Napoleon was attributed to the Elba period, and two small colour prints of little importance were similarly described. Amongst the Napoleonic rariora accumulated by Mr. William J. Latta, of Philadelphia, dispersed at the same time by the Metropolitan Art Association of New York, was a gold snuff-box embellished with a portrait of the Emperor by Isabey, said to have been painted by Isabey at Elba, and signed "J. I., 1815." There was also sold a small full-length sketch of Napoleon in water-colours signed "Coquetti, Porto-Ferrajo, Septre., 1814."

It is not surprising that the serious portraiture of Elba is less abundant and much inferior in interest to the pictorial satire which flowed so freely in every country of Europe between the great crisis of March–April, 1814, and the brief triumph of February–June, 1815. The fateful year 1814 opened with the most famous as well as the most popular of the three or four thousand caricatures directed against Napoleon, J. M. Voltz's gruesome corpse-head, which he facetiously called "The Triumph of the

BLOODY BONEY THE CARCASS BUTCHER LEFT OFF TRADE AND RETIRING TO SCARECROW ISLAND (ELBA)

An English caricature of 12 April, 1814

Year 1813, a New Year's Present to the German Nation." Copies of this clever but forbidding adaptation of H. A. Dähling's familiar "parade portrait" of 1806, made their appearance in almost every country of Europe during the last days of 1813 or the first months of the following year, which was so soon to witness the entry of the Allied Sovereigns into the French capital. The genesis of this remarkable print has been thus explained[1]:—

"Voltz's effort may be regarded as the artistic first-fruits of the crushing defeat of Napoleon at Leipzig on October 19, 1813. Up to this time the Berlin patriots had been compelled from prudential motives to import their stock of satirical prints from London, but it was now the turn of Germany to pay the debt she owed to Gillray, Rowlandson, and Cruikshank. It was not, however, till long years after that the authorship of the grim print entitled 'True Picture of the Conqueror. Triumph of the Year 1813. To the Germans for the New Year, was known.' In the early spring of 1814 it was freely reproduced in England, as well as in Russia, Italy, Holland, Spain—*and even in Paris.* Voltz's 'New Year's Gift' to his compatriots was not only calculated to assist the serious efforts of men like Fichte and Von Ense, but to stimulate the general uprising of the European nations against the Tyrant."

In March, 1814, Napoleon Bonaparte was certainly the most detested man in the whole world. The Berlin and Milan Decrees, with which he had vainly hoped to crush England, the "Spanish ulcer," the horrors of the Russian tragedy of 1812, the constant conscriptions which had drained France of her best blood, and the general uprising of Europe which culminated in the surrender of Paris, all combined to bring about that state of popular indignation which

[1] "Napoleon in Caricature," 1795–1821, by A. M. Broadley, 2 vols. John Lane, Bodley Head, London, and John Lane Company, New York, 1911.

can alone account for the deluge of cosmopolitan invective and pictorial satire of which Napoleon at Fontainebleau could not have been altogether ignorant, and which must have deeply affected the man who had realised, ever since the days of Brumaire, the power of the broadsheet and the possibilities of happily conceived caricature. It was too late now to invoke the complacent aid of the clever draughtsmen who had ridiculed Pitt in his last agony, George III in his mental affliction, and a corpulent and bibulous John Bull bribing the monarchs of Europe with sacks of glittering guineas. Like other worshippers of the rising sun they had all gone over to the other side, and before the political destinies of France were actually decided on, had depicted the Fatherland (so long and so cruelly harassed by their former paymaster, Napoleon) as a fair woman, clad in a flowing blue robe, abundantly sprinkled with fleurs-de-lys, who, lily in hand, paid homage to the bust of the obese Louis-the-Much-Desired, while she trampled under foot a medallion of the hated Corsican, lying on the broken Imperial sceptre, and the abandoned Imperial mantle. In the background the Imperial bees are seen escaping from an overturned hive, while below are inscribed the lines :—

L'Abeille était frêlon méchant,
Qui fleurs de lys allait rongeant,
Mais en nous donnant un Louis
La France fera des merveilles
Car c'est en reprenant les lys
Qu'elle en chassera les abeilles.

The darkness of insanity had fallen on James Gillray, who had shown no mercy to " Little Boney " ever since the far-off days of 1797. Isaac Cruikshank and G. M. Woodward were both dead, but " Glorious George," as the younger son of Isaac Cruikshank had come to be called, was now at the zenith of his fame, and the hand of Thomas Rowlandson had lost none of its cunning. They had now powerful allies and fellow-

workers throughout Germany, and the Paris artists were as ready to serve the Bourbons as they had been to help Bonaparte, who, between March and May, 1814, at any rate, had no friends. The fallen Emperor was still on his road to the coast when all Berlin was roaring with laughter over a caricature entitled "The Step-ladder of Napoleon's Rise and Fall," only a whit less successful than Johann Michael Voltz's "Corpse-head." Each step has a typical figure of Napoleon at the various stages of his career, while below the central arch he is seen seated on an island surrounded by sea. Through a microscope he surveys a minute fragment of a map, handed to him by Time and marked "Elba." In despair he exclaims: "Alas, how small is my Empire."[1]

In April, 1814, the English pamphleteers and caricaturists discovered that the word Elba, transformed into Hell-bay, Hell-bar, and so forth, lent itself to the coarse invective then in vogue, while the scanty dimensions of the Czar-created Empire could be ridiculed by such a deplorable pun as speaking of a want of "Elba (elbow) room." The chief ingredients in most of these Elba caricatures consist of the Devil, a cage, and a gibbet. Napoleon was still at Fontainebleau when the windows of the print-shops in St. James's Street, Piccadilly, the Strand, and Cheapside, were filled with such coarse wares as "A Grand Manœuvre, or the Rogue's March to the Island of Elba" (April 13, 1814), "Bloody Boney the Carcass Butcher left off trade and retiring to Scarecrow Island" (April 12), "The Rogue's March," with the verse:—

> From fickle fortune's gamesome lap
> What various titles flow:
> The Emperor of Conjurors—Nap,
> The King of Beggars—Joe (April 13)—

[1] A full account of the English Napoleonic Caricatures relating to the period April 1814–February 1815 will be found in "Napoleon in Caricature" (John Lane, 1911), Vol. I, chapter xvi. pp. 353-7. A tabulated list of items is given in Vol. II, Appendix A. For the French and German satirical prints on the same subject see respectively Vol. II, pp. 52 to 56, and Vol. II, pp. 122 to 131.

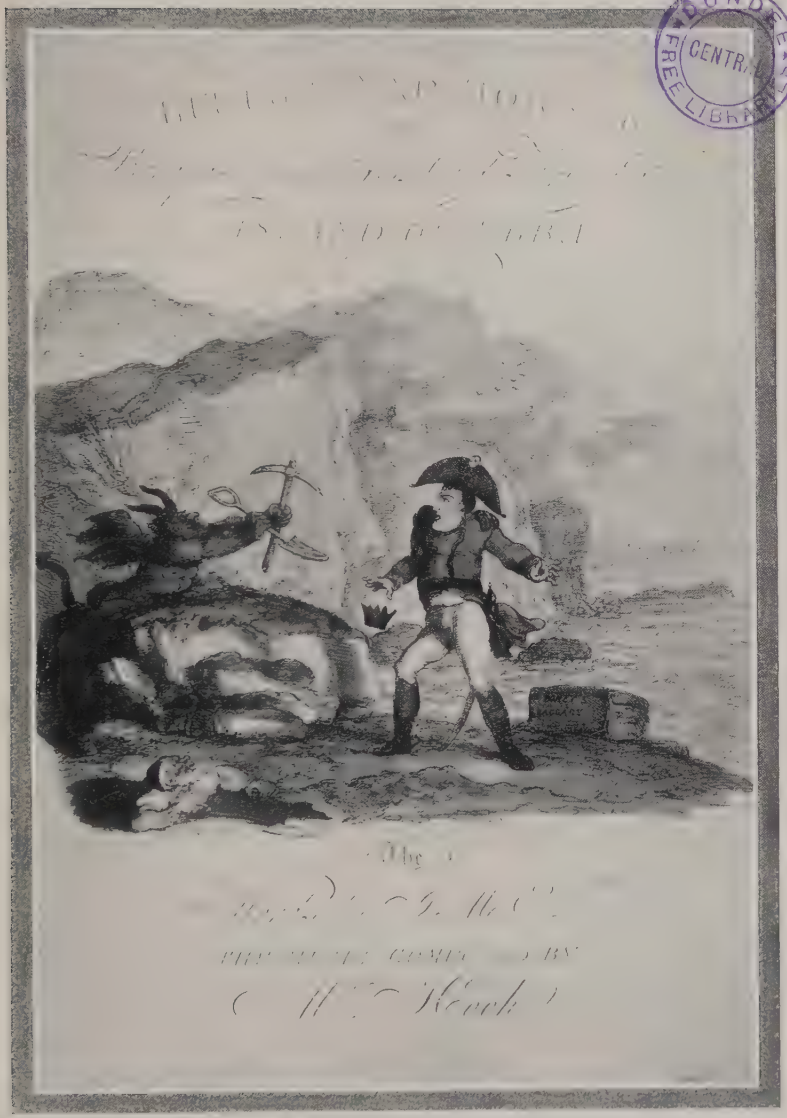
" The Affectionate Farewell, or Kick for Kick, or the Boney Family exalted on gibbets in the Isle of Elba " (April 17), and " A Delicate Finish for a Corsican Usurper " (April 20). The author of this print is overflowing with joy at the downfall of Napoleon, and places beneath his highly suggestive sketch the lines :—

> Boney canker of our Joys, now thy tyrant reign is o'er,
> Fill the merry Bowl, my Boys, join in Bacchanalian roar,
> Seize the Villain, plunge him in; see the hated miscreant dies.
> Mirth and all thy train come in; Banish sorrow, tears and sighs.

On the eve of Napoleon's painful journey south there appeared both in England and Germany a fairly good view of Portoferraio, below which is a medallion-portrait of Bonaparte suspended by fetters. The play on the word " Ferraio " is obvious.

The different incidents of Napoleon's tedious and even perilous progress towards the coast are mercilessly ridiculed, but the German *Napoleon's Reiseabentheuer* may be taken almost as a serious picture, and lacks the merciless cruelty shown in the French print *Saute pour le Roi*, in which a peasant is seen whipping the Emperor (dressed up as a goat) from Fontainebleau to Elba. Louis XVIII reached Paris on May 3rd, the day before Napoleon disembarked at Portoferraio, but the print-sellers apparently did not wait for the latter event to publish the caricature *L'Arrivée de Napoleon dans l'Ile d'Elbe*, with an inscription in French, German, and Italian.

It is clear that both the English and Continental purveyors of pictorial satire considered that Napoleon in Elba was effectually caged. George Cruikshank had already portrayed him thus while travelling from Fontainebleau—the cage being drawn by a ferocious Cossack. On the very day he started for Elba (21st April), " Mistress " Humphrey in St. James's Street had scored a signal success with that great artist's " Broken Gingerbread," in which (anticipating



GEORGE CRUIKSHANK'S TITLE-PAGE TO AN ENGLISH SATIRICAL SONG OF 1814 ON NAPOLEON'S EXILE TO ELBA

coming events by fully a fortnight) Bonaparte is represented as standing before the hut of "Tiddy-Doll," the renowned London cake-seller, holding a tray covered with gingerbread figures on his head, and crying: "Buy my images! Here's my nice little gingerbread Emperors and Kings. Retail and for Exportation." The cage and Cossack caricature of 23rd April is inscribed: "The Hell- (El) baronian Emperor going to take possession of his new Territory." One of the most popular of all these "Cage" pictures was a broadside parodying an advertisement of the proprietor of the then popular menagerie at Exeter Change in the Strand. At the top is an engraving of Bonaparte as a monkey chained by his keeper to a post, with a den or cage in the background. It was designed by one Lee. The printed text is as follows :—

"*Cruce Dignus*

THE GRAND MENAGERIE

with an exact representation of

NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE

The Little Corsican Monkey,

as he may probably appear at the Island of Elba.

Ladies and Gemmen!

This surprising Animal was taken by JOHN BULL and his ALLIES. He possesses the cunning of the Fox, the Rapacity of the Wolf, the blood thirsty Nater of the Hyena, the tender Feelings of the Crocodile, and the Obstinacy of the Ass. He has rambled over several parts of the world, where he played a number of wicked and ridiculous Tricks, particularly in Egypt, Russia, etc., there he had like to have been *nabbed*, but contrived to steal away to France, where, after a Time, exerting all the bad Qualities he possesses, he so far got the better of his own species as to reign King Paramount over Thirty Millions of deceived Subjects. 'Come, come, Nappo, don't look so Melancholy, you shall

have your Gruel with a Crust in it presently.' Ladies and *Gemmen*, if I was to quit him, in an instant he would play a thousand *figaries;* break all your Crockery, drink up your Wine, play the Devil and Doctor Faustus with your Wives and Darters; eat your Provisions, steal your Goods and Chattles, and commit every kind of Mischief! He's of unbounded Ambition, and by some fortunate Stroke of good Luck, more than by his Abilities, proved very successful in his Deceptions; but this Luck was not to last for ever. Puft up as full as a blown bladder with conceit, he thought he *coud* conquer the four Quarters of the Globe. So one dark Night he stole out of Paris to make an attack on Germany, etc., where he assured his Companions they would get immense Wealth by their Plunders. But BULL & Co. coming up with him by break of day, compelled him to surrender, and transported him to HELL BAY (*Elba*)."

This was published by James Asperne, at the Bible, Crown and Constitution, Cornhill, who displayed the same activity in the anti-Napoleonic crusade of 1814 as he had done in that of 1803 and 1804. He also advertised for sale, both wholesale and retail, "Cruce Dignus; an Epitaph underneath a Gibbet over a Dunghill at Elba," and "*Bona Rapta pone leno;* or a Dialogue between Napoleon Buonaparte and the Legislative Body of France," the Latin words, signifying "Lay down the goods you have stolen," being an anagram upon Napoleon's name.

The ballad-maker and the ballad-monger were not idle in the spring of 1814. An immense vogue was enjoyed by a song to the tune of "Derry Down," given nightly by Mr. Huckell at the Surrey Theatre with "tremendous applause." In its published form it was surmounted by a rough print in which Bonaparte is represented in the act of surrendering his sword to Britannia and her allies, while a Cossack stands over him in a menacing attitude. In the background is the island of Elba.

THE WHITE FLAG, OR BONEY'S ABDICATION

Sung by Mr. Huckell at the Surrey Theatre, 1814

Great news, brother Britons, our joy freely share;
Hark! big with glad tidings the guns rend the air.
The hope so long cherish'd with glory to crown,
All Europe is up, but the Tyrant is down.

A rod to all nations has been this proud elf,
Who we know has at last made a rod for himself,
The dove flies aloft, with the olive of peace,
And Boney's proud eagles are all turn'd to geese.

Bonaparte a Cæsar was call'd it is known,
And he seized upon all he came near as his own;
But though this mock Cæsar has met with his fate,
We still have a true Alexander the Great.

Said John Bull when quite sick of invasion Nap grew,
If you won't come to me, I must e'en go to you,
And to France Johnny went but a short time ago,
To toast Europe's cause in good wine of Bordeaux.

From proud exultation tho' who can refrain,
Bonaparte I'm sure has no right to complain;
Transported with joy tho' all Europe we view,
Poor Boney you know will be transported too.

Then hail to the monarchs enrolled with the brave,
Whose conquering arms only conquer'd to save;
Hail Freedom that gave unto Louis the crown,
Raised the White Standard up, and the tyrant's pull'd down.

George Cruikshank lent his valuable aid to the embellishment of a piece of music entitled "Little Nap Horner, or Bonaparte meeting his Old Friend at the Island of Elba," the words by J. M. E., the music composed by Mr. Hook.

This melody "caught on" in the British drawing-rooms of the Regency, although the words were sad doggerel :—

Little Nap Horner
Up in a Corner
Dreading his doleful doom;
He who gave t'other day
Whole kingdoms away
Now is glad to find Elba room.

Old Nicky Horner
Flew to the Corner,
Finding his friend was ill;
He had lent him a *hand*
On Imperial land
And he sticks to his *Elba* still.

Quoth Nick to Nap Horner,
"We, up in this Corner,
Must follow the *hard-ware* line,
In *Iron* and *Stealing*
We both have been dealing
And all at *Our Elba's Mine.*"

"Alas (says Nap Horner)
Clubbed to this Corner
A *Knave* of Spades I came,
My *Diamonds* were gone,
And of *Hearts* I had none,
So they *Elba*'d me out of the *Game.*"

"Never mind (says old Horner)
Dig *Deep* in the Corner,
And this for your comfort know,
When your labour is past,
And you've *dug* to the last
You'll find *Elba* down *below.*"

For the benefit of the uninitiated an explanatory note was added to the effect "the island of Elba to which the Corsican has been banished (heretofore the Botany Bay of Tuscany)

THE CONGRESS DISSOLVED BEFORE THE CAKE WAS CUT UP

From George Cruikshank's caricature of 6 April, 1815

abounds in Iron Mines, and its trade chiefly consists in the articles of Iron and Steel Dust."

We have another curious broadside of ten verses, entitled "A Poetical Address to the Usurper Buonaparte," said to have been written "by a British Veteran, late Serjeant and Clerk to the 56th Regiment of Foot. One of the few surviving monuments of the memorable Siege of Gibraltar, now in the sixty-fourth year of his age." It opens thus:—

> Thou curse of Europe! Buonaparte
> Who, by thy cunning, fraud and art,
> The nations didst beguile;
> With blood-stained crimes upon thy head,
> A Captive Coward thou art led
> To dwell in Elba's Isle.

And concludes:—

> May God our great Allies preserve,
> They Europe's grateful thanks deserve,
> That changed the tear to smile;
> Let ev'ry loyal honest heart
> Expand with joy, now Buonaparte
> Laments in Elba's Isle.

At the foot of the sheet is appended the following note:— "The above little poem has been presented to several branches of the Royal Family; to their august Majesties the Emperor of Russia and King of Prussia; to Marshals Blücher and Platoff; Members of Parliament; Admirals and general officers; the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor, and other distinguished characters of high Respectability, by the Author, William Dickenson, No. 8 Duke Street, Lincoln's-in-Fields."

On June 18th, 1814 (one year to a day before Waterloo), London celebrated the fleeting Peace which Elba had procured for Europe. On that occasion a topical caricature was provided to which the title of "Boney Dish'd. A Side Dish for the City of London," was given.

The French caricatures of April–July, 1814, were, as a rule, not less severe than those which appeared in London and Berlin. In some of these the idol of 1800–1812 is represented in a bath of blood, as a waxwork manikin, a whipped top, a caged ape, a shuttlecock, a diavolo spool, a jay despoiled of its plumes, as Nicholas Philocte, or as Robinson Crusoe. One artist, however, in a caricature lettered *Le Baiser de Judas*, satirized the conduct of Augereau (Ogro Marshal) who showed marked discourtesy to his fallen chief at Valence, while on his way to St. Raphael. From July onwards signs of a marked change of public opinion in France are evident. Louis XVIII and the Congress of Vienna both proved a disappointment, and the "violet" began to resume its old place in the affections of Frenchmen.[1] This is specially apparent in prints like *La Bascule* (the slim Napoleon weighing down the obese Louis), *Le Revenant*, *Le Paté Indigeste*, *Le Destin de la France*, and a whole series of pictures recalling the glories of Marengo, Austerlitz, and Jena. The "snuffing-out" of Napoleon, foreshadowed in so many caricatures, seemed likely to prove illusory.

Then came the great surprise of February 26th, 1815. Such engravings as Ackermann's profile medallion of Napoleon, with the legend, "Tyrant of France. Desolator of Europe. Born Aug. 15, 1769. Self-created Emperor May 18, 1803. Dethroned April 2, 1814. Transported to Elba under an Escort of Cossacks, April 12, 1814," became in a moment out-of-date. "Le Revenant" had really returned, and George Cruikshank, equal to any occasion, drew a picture of a winged devil carrying Napoleon and his followers on his back from Elba to the Golfe Jouan, to which was given the title of "The Corsican's Last Trip under the Guidance of his Good Angel." The accompanying text is not less rancorous than that of the pictorial satires of ten months before :—

"BUONAPARTE, the extraordinary BUONAPARTE—burst the bonds of his seclusion at Elba, and at the head of a hostile

[1] See "Napoleon in Caricature," Vol. II, pp. 88–95.

force landed, on the 3rd March, 1815, in the Department of Var in France, after a retirement of ten months."

"It appears that the hypocritical villain, who at the time of his cowardly abdication, affected an aversion to the shedding of human blood in a civil warfare, has been employed during the whole time of his residence at Elba, in carrying on secret and treasonable intrigues with the tools of his former crimes in France. At length, when his plots were rife, he sailed from Elba, with all his Guards between 12 and 1300 in number, on the night of the 27th February, 1815.

"A year has not yet elapsed, and this man who pretended the wish to spare France the horrors of Civil War, now goes to relume the torch of war! and that which he dared not do with 40,000 Frenchmen, he now attempts with a thousand banditti, chiefly Poles, Neapolitans and Piedmontese! May Providence, wearied out with his crimes, deceive this time the base calculation of his cowardice, and abandon him to the vengeance of the laws which he has so often violated and trampled under foot.

"What Judge Jenkins said of the celebrated John Lilbourne, may be fairly applied to Buonaparte with a little alteration of the words: 'That if the world were emptied of all but Napoleon Buonaparte, Buonaparte with Napoleon, and Napoleon with Buonaparte, he would not care one jot.'"

There was no real sympathy for either Talleyrand or the Congress of Vienna in Paris, and not much in Europe. The "Twelfth Cake" caricatures concerning its interminable discussions are well known. There is real humour in Lewis Mark's "The European Pantomime," in which the "princeaple [*sic*] characters" are given as Harlequin, Mr. Boney; Pantaloon, Louis XVIII; and Columbine, Marie Louise; with "Clowns, etc., by Congress." On 6th April, 1815, Napoleon was once more at the Tuileries. On that very day he visited the studio of David, in the Place de la Sorbonne, to see his latest pictures. On 6th April appeared the last of the satirical prints it is necessary to mention as an Elba sidelight. It is by George Cruikshank, and is entitled "The Congress dissolved before the Cake was cut up." Bonaparte bursts into the room through the open door,

and, brandishing his sword, exclaims: "Avast, ye Bunglers, the Cake ye have taken six months disputing about the cutting up, I will do in as many hours."

The Elba flag is now in London. Its colours have faded almost beyond recognition, but it was not till August, 1823, when Napoleon had been dead more than two years, that an interesting illustration of it was published by its then owner, Mr. H. Cureton, of 81 Aldersgate Street. George Cruikshank had some years before made it the subject of a quaint caricature, in which he contrived to link together the names of Bonaparte, Burdett, and Baring.

At no period of Napoleon's meteoric career were the artistic and literary sidelights more interesting and more instructive than during the ten months in which, at the suggestion of the Czar and by the will of Europe, he filled the anomalous position of Emperor and King of Elba.

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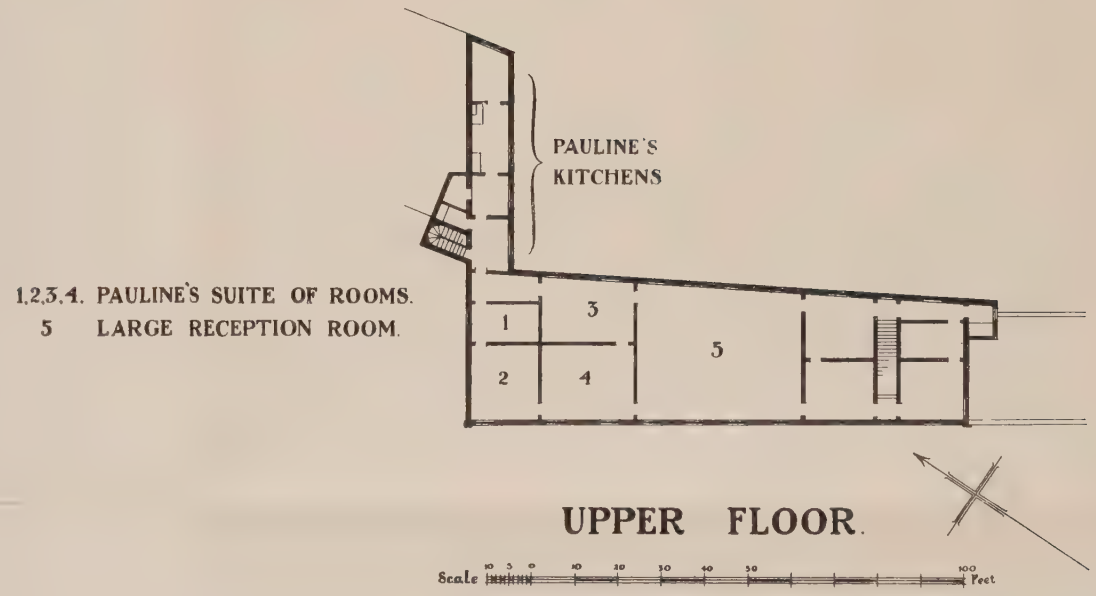

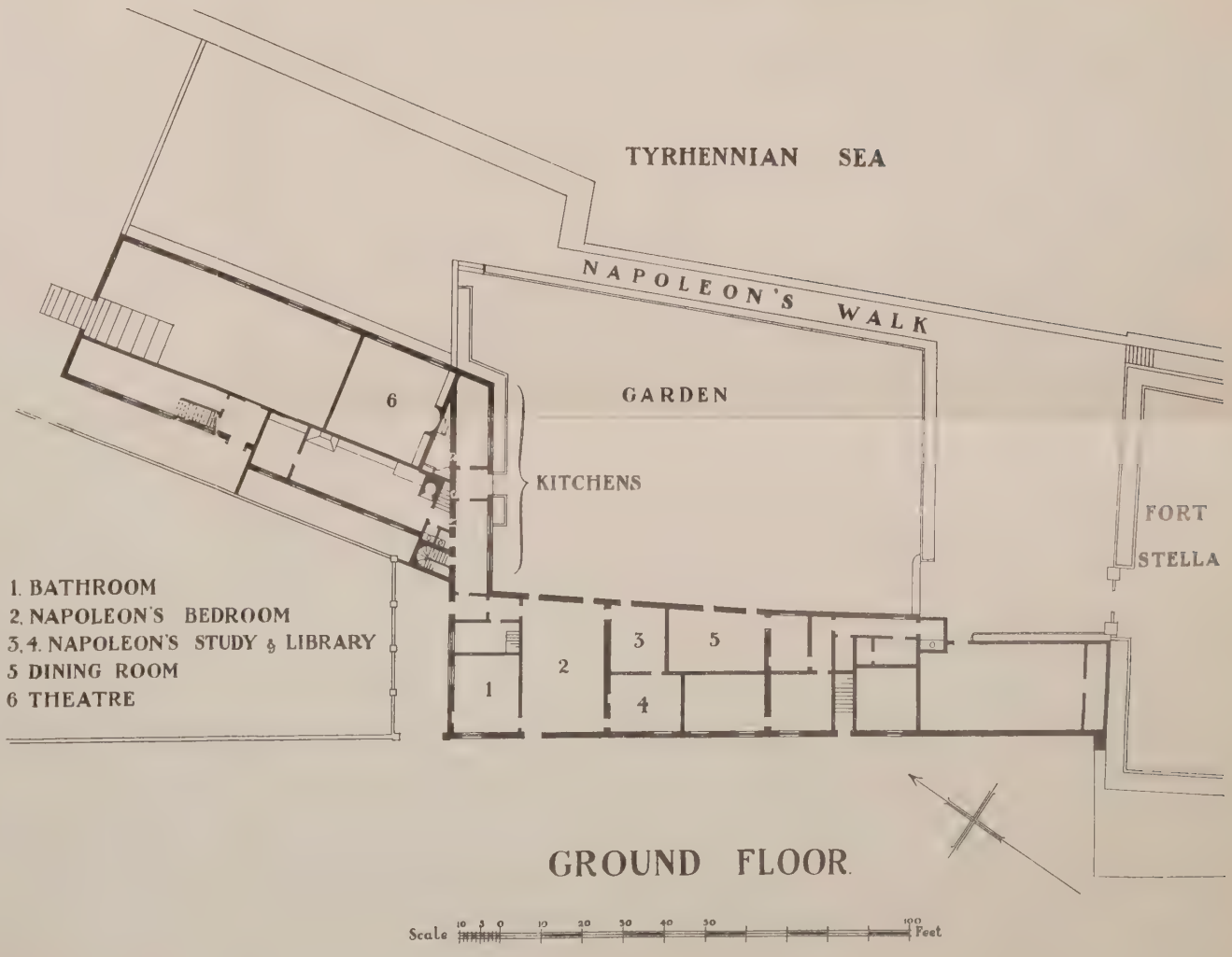

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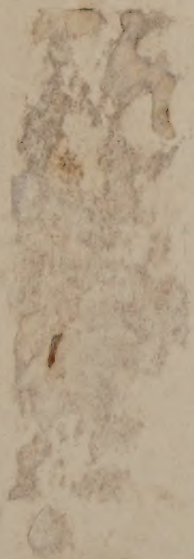

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